

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



JUNE, 1959



EDITORIALS

THE CHURCH, THE CHINESE, AND THE NEGRO IN
CALIFORNIA, 1849-1893 *By Edward U. Palmer*

BAYARD HALE JONES (1827-1957): PRIEST, TEACHER,
LITURGIOLOGIST *By George M. Alexander*

GEORGE WASHINGTON AND THE METHODISTS
By Paul F. Butler, Jr.

THE LIBRARY OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL
SOCIETY *By Frederick L. Chantry*

RECENT BOOKS IN CHURCH HISTORY
By Robert S. Bealer

REVIEWS: I. American Church History and Biog-
raphy.
II. English and General Church History.

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Editorials

Why Study History?

NOVEMBER 17th, 1958, was the 400th anniversary of the accession of Queen Elizabeth I to the throne of England: "a day now forgotten, but once celebrated by generations of Englishmen." We can be glad that this anniversary stimulated Sir John E. Neale to publish his *Essays in Elizabethan History* (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1958). The sixth essay, "The Via Media in Politics: A Historical Parallel," was originally published under the title, "Elizabeth I and Her Cold War," in the *Saturday Review* (New York, October 1, 1955). In the opening paragraphs of this essay, Sir John gives an impressive answer to the question, "Why Study History?"

WE are living in an age of ideological conflict and are troubled by the strains it imposes on society. The totalitarian state spreads alarm; we fear doctrinaires with their subversive organizations; we suspect fellow-travellers; we endure the Cold War; we think of quislings and the fifth column as instruments of foreign conquest. The fanatic's way of life we know to be dynamic; and though we say "It shall not happen here," we are not inclined, after our experience of the last twenty years, to boast that it cannot happen here. We are at odds about the policy we should pursue. Passion breeds passion; and unless we feel deeply about our own ideals, inevitably we are at a disadvantage against the enemies of society. Moderation, which is a liberal virtue, takes on a watery appearance. It seems uninspired and inglorious, prone to defeat.

In such a dilemma it may be useful to turn to history, which is the treasury of recorded experience. History never repeats itself, but it offers analogies. Just as the historian, consciously or unconsciously, uses the present to understand the past, so there is a reverse process. It is the most weighty of the justifications for the writing and study of history; and a nation which is historically minded is more likely to be fortunate in affairs than one which is not.

For an analogy with our own times, we cannot do better than turn to the Elizabethan period in English history. Such terms as fifth column, fellow-traveller, cold war, and the totalitarian state may be of recent origin, but the ideas for which they stand were as familiar to the Elizabethans as they are to us, and their ordeal was as long drawn out as ours. In their case, moreover, we know the outcome and can judge more or less dispassionately. By common consent it is one of the great success stories of history.

Few historians nowadays would hesitate about ascribing the chief credit for this success to the Queen herself. In her own day her

prime enemy, Pope Sixtus V, acclaimed her as great. Her Protestant subjects had no doubt about it. They believed that they were living at the summit of their country's glory; and their temper and achievements proclaimed the dynamic character of the age. Nevertheless, the Queen's policy, which she pursued with impressive tenacity, was that of the *via media*: one we do not normally associate with exuberance and glory. To examine the situation which confronted her, explain her policy, account for its success, and, above all, discover why the spirit of the nation, so far from being deflated, was never more buoyant: this surely cannot be an exercise remote from our present-day interests.

The above selection is a very good sample of Sir John's historical exposition, and the reader of this editorial will be well advised to read *all* of the essays in the book.

WALTER H. STOWE

The Importance of An Alert Laity

AN alert layman is Mr. Herbert J. Mainwaring of 54 Weston Avenue, Wollaston 70, Massachusetts, who was startled by some statements made before a legislative committee of his state, and who proceeded to ascertain the facts and to refute the distortions of history involved in the statements.

The duties of the Historiographer of the Episcopal Church are not defined in Canon 1 of the Constitution and Canons of the General Convention, but surely one of them should be to help alert laymen refute distortions of the history of the American Episcopal Church in particular and of the Anglican Communion in general.

The statements to which Mr. Mainwaring took exception were published in the *Boston Herald* of February 26, 1959. He wrote us, inquiring as to their accuracy. The substance of our reply is contained in his letter to the *Boston Herald*, which was as follows:

ESTABLISHED CHURCH ASSERTION DISPUTED

To the Editor of The Herald:

Startled by the assertion of John Beresford Hatch, of Salem, to a legislative committee, that "the witches (of Salem's colonial days) were brought before a tribunal of the Established Church, which convicted them," and, that "The head of the Established Church, then as now, is the person who sits on the throne of England," I wrote to the historiographer of the Episcopal Church, Dr. Walter H. Stowe, to ascertain the facts.

Dr. Stowe has written me in answer, as follows:

"The key sentence, 'the witches were brought before a tribunal of the Established Church, which convicted them,' is what has confused this business. The Established Church in Massachusetts during the colonial period, and until 1833, was the Congregational Church, and not the Church of England. For the witches to have been convicted by a tribunal of the Church of England, they would have had to be transported to England and tried there. I think you will find that this was never done."

Dr. Stowe adds, "In 1692, when these trials are said to have taken place, there was only one Anglican church in all of Massachusetts, and that was King's Chapel."

Wollaston.

H. J. MAINWARING

The Church needs more alert laymen like Mr. Mainwaring!

WALTER H. STOWE

To Richard G. Salomon—A Tribute!

ON April 22, 1959, Professor Richard G. Salomon of Bexley Hall, the Divinity School of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday. Under date of April 17th, we wrote him as follows:

Dear Professor Salomon:

I greet you on your seventy-fifth birthday which comes next Wednesday, April 22nd, and I congratulate you on a distinguished and varied career. I am especially grateful for the contribution which you have made to the cause of American Church History, both by your teaching, your researches and your writings. That you, a former professor in the University of Hamburg, Germany, should have become so keenly interested in American Church History is a great boost to this sphere of historiography.

You have had the distinction of being the only layman who has served as Professor of Church History in any of our theological seminaries, in so far as my knowledge goes. This in itself is a great tribute to your talents. Also, you have been a most valuable Associate Editor of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* of the Episcopal Church, a member of General Convention's Joint Commission on the *MAGAZINE*, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Church Historical Society.

The American Episcopal Church owes you a great debt, and it is my pleasure and privilege thus to acknowledge it. . . .

WALTER H. STOWE

Under date of April 29, 1959, Dr. Salomon acknowledged the above, as follows:

Dear Dr. Stowe,

Please accept the expression of my heartfelt gratitude for your gracious letter of congratulation on my 75th birthday. . . .

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE . . . was my first *tirocinium* in a field which I entered as a grey-haired novice about sixteen years ago, and has been my trusted companion ever since. I hope to enjoy the stimulating cooperation with you as long as the light shines.

Faithfully yours,

RICHARD G. SALOMON

The Church, The Chinese, and The Negroes in California 1849-1893

By Lionel U. Ridout*

THE EARLY work of the Episcopal Church with the Chinese in California cannot be understood without some background. It is necessary to look for a moment at the advent of the Chinese into the state, their working and social position, and the attitude of the Americans toward them as well as their attitude toward the Americans, to learn why the Church's missionary efforts with them were unsuccessful.

I. The Chinese in California

The Chinese were at first welcomed by the Californians as meeting an urgent need for labor. Later they were scorned as the source of most of the ills which beset the state. This feeling eventuated in an attempt to get rid of the Chinese, or at least to prevent their increase. Looked upon only as they affected state problems, their merits were seldom considered.¹

When the Chinese first came to California is not definitely known. Bancroft places them in Lower California as shipbuilders and laborers as early as 1751, and says they were in California, at Los Angeles, in 1781.² Sandmeyer is not so definite. The census of 1850 did not indicate them as a separate group. According to immigration figures, 1820-1850, there were about 46 Chinese in California.³ The boom in Chinese immigration began with the boom in gold in 1849. Practically all of them were Cantonese or at least spoke the Canton dialect.

The Chinese in California were generally divided into three groups. The merchants, almost at the bottom of the social ladder in China, were important in California. They handled the major portion of the merchandise used by the Chinese population, and were noted for their integrity and ability. The second group, the laborers, comprised the great majority. They were, in the main, young, frugal, industrious, sober and quick

* The author is Professor of History and Chairman of the Department of History, San Diego State College, San Diego, California.—*Editor's note.*

¹ Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana, Ill., 1939), 4. Hereafter cited as Sandmeyer, *Anti-Chinese Movement*.

² Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-1890), VII, 335. Hereafter cited as Bancroft, *California*.

³ Sandmeyer, *Anti-Chinese Movement*, 12. Bancroft, *California*, VII, 335-336, gives the following population figures: Feb., 1849, 54; Jan., 1850, 787 men and two women; 1851, 4,018 men and 7 women; Jan., 1852, 7,512 men and 8 women; May, 1852, 11,787 men and 7 women; Aug., 1852, 18,026 men and 14 women; 1876, 116,000, of which probably 6,000 were women.

at learning. Unfortunately for them, they were also gamblers, opium users, not well educated, and not highly impressed with American ways.⁴ This group was judged, sadly enough, upon its vices rather than its virtues, and the judgment increased anti-Chinese feeling. The third group was made up of a small number of women who, for various reasons, were mainly prostitutes.⁵

The Chinese came to California because of too dense population in China, the devastation of dynastic wars with attendant increases in taxation and suffering, civil wars which paralyzed industry and trade, the discovery of gold in California, and the state's demand for laborers of various capacities.⁶ Their importance in the latter category was indicated by the agitation against them, which resulted not so much from their presence as it did from attempts to legislate for enforcement of California contracts made in China.⁷

There seems to be a great conflict over the number of Chinese in California. The estimate of the Chinese Companies in 1852 ran to 25,000. San Francisco Custom House figures of arrivals for the years 1852-1860 show that approximately 70,500⁸ reached California, a yearly average of something over 7,800. While hundreds were deported to China every year, and there was a constant fluctuation of the Chinese population,⁹ a majority of the immigrants stayed. Those who remained in California were mobile because of the seasonal character of their jobs, and were thus hard to count. Whatever the actual Chinese population, it can be accepted that the Californians exaggerated it, for purposes of their own, and the most reliable estimates probably came from the Chinese Companies whose membership was reported at 34,933 in California in 1860 (with 2,179 in San Francisco) and 58,300 for the entire coast in 1866.¹⁰

⁴ Sandmeyer, *Anti-Chinese Movement*, 13.

⁵ *Idem*. Bancroft, *California*, VII, 336.

⁶ Sandmeyer, *Anti-Chinese Movement*, 14. While many Chinese came for gold, a terrific increase in immigration was noted during the era of railroad building; in fact, many Californians placed the blame for the influx of the Chinese solely on the railroads and their desire for cheap labor, increased passenger fares, and to sell land.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸ From yearly figures as given by Sandmeyer, *Anti-Chinese Movement*, 16. The figures given, says Sandmeyer, are not accurate and do not coincide with those of the Immigration Commission or the Bureau of Immigration. However, they do show that large numbers arrived in California and that a problem was being developed.

⁹ In some years, more Chinese left than arrived.

¹⁰ The Chinese Companies, of which there were six, were wealthy concerns with headquarters in San Francisco. Their major interests were mercantile, and the importation of coolies. Upon contractual promise of repayment from the coolies, the Companies guaranteed them employment and promised to return them eventually to China, living or dead. See Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1930), 416.

At first the Chinese went to the mining areas where rewards were larger. However, after 1860 they took a greater part in other activities—agriculture, domestic service, railway construction, manufacturing and the like. The longer they remained in California, the more their interests and economic activities widened. What their wages and living costs were before 1880 is difficult to determine. However, a surmise might place living costs at \$8 to \$10 a month, with 75 per cent of their food and 80 per cent of their clothing imported, and more than half their yearly wage exported. By 1883, their wages were ranging from \$18 to \$35 a month for some occupations.¹¹

The ever-widening business activities of the Chinese made them feared and hated. It was said by a newspaper in 1877 that if the 18,000 Chinese in San Francisco were expelled, business would be thrown into confusion.¹² As early as 1862, the *Daily Alta California* published a report of a Senate committee investigating the Chinese in the state. The committee had discovered that the value of the Chinese population and industry to the state in 1861 had amounted to \$13,974,000.¹³ It was also pointed out that statistics on trade with China showed an advantage to the United States and that, as an example, while the Chinese made up only a tenth of the population in some mining counties, they paid a quarter of the entire county tax. A suggestion was made that they be paid bounties to raise rice, tea, tobacco, and other such stuffs. Perhaps the best summing-up of the advantages California derived from the Chinese was in the suggestion that if the people of the state were given ten talents they should go after another ten.¹⁴

Despite their increasing worth to California, the Chinese continued to be feared and hated, and not alone on the basis of their business competition. Their living conditions were frightful, largely through no fault of their own. These conditions were determined largely by three factors: the fact that the majority was single males, that they were segregated by racial prejudice, and that their customs were different from those of the

¹¹ Sandmeyer, *Anti-Chinese Movement*, 18-21.

¹² *Ibid.*, 21.

¹³ San Francisco, *Daily Alta California*, March 12, 1862. The breakdown of this figure is highly interesting: duties paid by Chinese importers, \$500,000; freight money paid to ships from China, \$180,683; passage, \$382,000; head tax, \$7,556; boat hire, \$4,767; rents for stores and storage, \$370,000; licenses, taxes, etc., paid to the state, \$2,164,273; commissions to auctioneers and brokers, \$29,396; drayage in San Francisco, \$59,162; teaming in interior of state, \$360,000; paid for American products in San Francisco, \$1,046,613; paid for American products in interior, \$4,953,387; paid in fire insurance in San Francisco, \$1,925; paid in marine insurance in San Francisco, \$33,647; paid in steamboat fare to Sacramento and Stockton, \$50,000; paid in river steamboat freights, \$80,000; paid in stage fare to and from mines, \$250,000; paid in water for Chinese miners, \$2,160,000; paid in mining claims, \$1,350,000.

¹⁴ *Daily Alta California*, March 12, 1862.

Americans. Also their membership in the six companies tended to isolate them in a social life of their own. Such conditions brought crowding, tenements, and disease.¹⁵

Feeling against the Chinese began early, based in general on economic, moral, religious, social and political grounds. Adverse legislation was early attempted. Foreign miners were taxed, a policy which lasted two decades. By 1852, an increase in immigration caused greater fear, and pressure to introduce the coolie system strengthened anti-foreign legislation. Mass meetings took place, the Committee of Vigilance interfered, new taxes were levied on the Chinese, and prejudice was rampant. Miners became angry and declared that the Chinese had usurped all the placers, but this accusation was in reality based on the Chinese vs. American labor question. A vicious attempt was made to control immigration under an act later declared unconstitutional on the basis that it interfered with the right of Congress to regulate commerce. Nevertheless, legislation was passed in 1855 preventing Chinese or Mongolians from entering the state, enforced by a penalty on those in charge of any ship violating the law.¹⁶

This, then, was the status of the Chinese in California by the time William Ingraham Kip^{16-a} became the state's first Episcopal bishop in 1854. They were hated, degraded, scorned, and, except for their few white friends, ignored as human beings. They posed a social and economic problem as well as a religious one, and it was necessary for some institution, such as the Church, to help them. Sadly enough, the Episcopal Church failed them, perhaps because it looked upon the problem as religious rather than social.

II. The Mission of the Episcopal Church to the Chinese

The Church, of course, was in a difficult position. It was a religious institution rather than a social one; its missionary department, both foreign and domestic, was three thousand miles from the scene, guided only by hearsay evidence gathered, perhaps, from biased parties, and incapable of understanding that the situation in California was different from any other situation, foreign or domestic. And, apparently, Bishop Kip was too much influenced by what he saw and heard, by his other arduous duties, and by his own somewhat aristocratic feelings, to give the necessary leadership to the California Chinese. It was his one failure.

Apparently, the first time the Board of Missions recognized the

¹⁵ Sandmeyer, *Anti-Chinese Movement*, 22.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 25-42.

^{16-a} WILLIAM INGRAHAM KIP (1811-1893) was consecrated as first Missionary Bishop of California on October 28, 1853. He became the diocesan in 1857.

Chinese problem in California was in 1854. It had been informed that large numbers were gathering on the shores of the Pacific Coast—perhaps 50,000. The major question about which the board was concerned was whether the California Chinese should be considered a field for the Foreign or the Domestic Committee. The board was willing to missionize under the Domestic Committee if its views on the status of the Chinese were sanctioned by the Church.¹⁷

Acting on the premise that the Chinese in California could be considered under domestic jurisdiction, the Board of Missions appointed the Rev. Edward W. Syle,^{17-a} formerly missionary to China, as missionary to them, subject to Bishop Kip's approval. To legalize matters, the appointment was made by the Foreign and Domestic Committees in conference, and the Foreign Committee transferred Syle to the jurisdiction of the Domestic Committee. It was felt that in this way the cause of both committees would be more effectively promoted, for it gave the domestic field the interest of distance and of dealing with a foreign element, while it promised the Foreign Committee a pathway and open door to "all the distant nations of the earth."¹⁸ Even the Church had gathered to itself the threads of manifest destiny and was solemnly chanting a new hymn which contained the words "Westward the course of Empire. . . ."

At the request of the Domestic Committee, and based only on material he had gleaned from letters and newspapers, Syle prepared an article on the California Chinese before he left for his first visit to the state. Among other things, he mentioned that there was already being published in San Francisco a four-page Chinese newspaper, the *Golden Hill News*, edited and printed by young men who had been educated in mission schools in China. The newspaper was an indication to this earnest man that the mission field was opened for prompt and diligent cultivation. He also pointed out that 50,000 men, plus some women of bad character, could make a "deleterious impression" unless properly guided.¹⁹

Syle also indicated that he was aware that perplexing and difficult political questions had already been raised as a result of Chinese immigration. He knew that the social position they occupied was a problem requiring early solution, and he urged fast action to prevent the rise of idolatry.²⁰ In other words, Syle's previous experience with foreign mis-

¹⁷ *Spirit of Missions*, XIX (November and December, 1854), 428. Hereafter cited as *SM*.

^{17-a} The Rev. Edward W. Syle had been ordained deacon, July 14, 1844, by Bishop William Meade of Virginia.—*Burgess' List of Deacons* (Boston, 1875), p. 31.

¹⁸ *Idem*. This article actually used the words "Westward the course of Empire," and suggested that contributions would keep the fires on the Pacific burning.

¹⁹ *SM*, XIX, 527-528.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 528.

sions, plus the little knowledge he had of California, left him not unequipped to face the situation. Unfortunately, his background did him little good in the Far West.

By December 1854, Syle had reached Panama on his way to California. His passage to Aspinwall had been comfortable, even though the weather was cold and rough. By this time, the railroad across the Isthmus had been almost completed, making that portion of the journey easier, but the last fifteen miles on muleback was still a grim business. The railroad Syle was on was the last memento of hundreds of Chinese laborers who had been taken to Panama to build it. About two-thirds of those laborers died, some by suicide, while those who lived were sent to Jamaica. Syle finally arrived in California early in 1855.²¹

In March 1855, Bishop Kip sent a lengthy report on the Chinese in California to the Board of Missions of the Church in the East. The report is interesting and shows that the bishop, while not completely sympathetic to the Chinese, was a keenly observant man, and that he had, if somewhat negatively, busied himself to some extent in the Chinese problem.

According to Kip, about a quarter of San Francisco was similar to Canton or Hong Kong. There were houses swarming with Chinese, the air was filled with their language and music, and shops were plentiful; the streets were gay with their signs, and at night lanterns were hung out to add a festive note. Like situations were to be found in all the inland towns the bishop had visited.²²

Chinese were to be found in the south Nevada mountains, with huge bundles over their shoulders on a pole; they were in the mines, in ravines or on the hillside, digging like whites for the "gold of idolatry."²³

To Kip, the Chinese were a distinct people, governed by their own rules and regulations. They traded with their own countrymen, and imported their food and clothes from China. They did not try to learn English; they exported their gold to China, and constantly acted as strangers in a strange land. There was as unpassable a barrier between the Chi-

²¹ E. W. Syle, "Letter," in *SM*, XX (January, 1855), 38-39. Syle immediately began to work with the Chinese, but at the diocesan convention in May, 1855, he reported that it appeared that "owing to peculiar habits and early training of this people, as also to the circumstances under which they immigrate to this country, no perceptible impression has yet been made on them. . . ." He felt that the prospect of Christianizing them was remote, if not hopeless. See *Journal of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California* (San Francisco, May, 1855), 25. Hereafter cited as *JCC*.

²² William Ingraham Kip, "Report on the Chinese in California," in *SM*, XX (March, 1855), 85. Hereafter cited as Kip, "Chinese Report," *SM*.

²³ *Ibid.*

nese and Americans in California as there was between Negroes and whites in the south.²⁴

The bishop felt that the condition of the Chinese excited pity, but that those in San Francisco were the "vilest offscouring of China." There were no high class Chinese; only the lowest class arrived by the hundreds, through the efforts of the Five Companies organized to import labor from China.²⁵ Kip indicated that at first it was thought the Chinese might make good domestic servants, but that this idea was abandoned. Instead, they ventured to the mines or opened small shops.

Instead of assuming the virtues of the whites, said the bishop, the Chinese copied their vices. They gambled passionately in one of every three houses, used large quantities of liquor and opium, and lived in dreadful filth which could breed disease and pestilence. Kip quoted from a newspaper:²⁶

Dirt, filth, nauseous smells and horrid caterwauling characterize the streets in which they live, and the most disgusting indecencies practiced by them are forced upon the eye in passing their homes. The laws of common decency are outraged and Dupont Street presents scenes in broad daylight which are worthy of the Five Points in its palmiest days.

While a good deal of truth may have been reported by both the newspaper and the bishop, it must be remembered that the rampant prejudice of the day probably jaundiced the view of most observers. It is possible that, in proportion, the Chinese did not live in much worse fashion than some of the American rabble which earlier inhabited San Francisco. It is also probable that the bishop, accustomed to finer ways of living, was overly shocked at what he saw, and that the newspaper had an axe to grind. In addition, segregation of a good-sized population into a comparatively small area could not have produced ideal living conditions.

Bishop Kip also reported that the Chinese were constantly divided by inter-company feuds. In some inland communities, whole Chinese populations turned out, armed with clubs, swords and bamboo shields, and engaged in battles where lives were lost.²⁷

It was difficult, Kip noted, for the law to take its course where Chinese were involved. Their associations attempted to defeat justice and to defy the courts.²⁸ The bishop stated that crime went unpunished because

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 86.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Sandmeyer reports six companies. Kip says the companies were named Sam-yap, Yaong-wo, See-yap, Sun-on, and Ning-yaong.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ It should be pointed out that justice took a divergent form when meted out to the Chinese, and that, if anything, it called for its own defeat.

witnesses against Chinese were intimidated, and, at the same time, he indicated righteously, one San Francisco magistrate made it a point never to make a conviction on uncorroborated Chinese evidence.²⁹

Kip was shocked at the status of Chinese women in San Francisco. Their condition was worse than that of the men. Most of them were prostitutes, with, perhaps, a few legalized but unhonored secondary wives.³⁰

The bishop said that political economists looked upon the Chinese as the most utterly useless race which could be introduced into a country, producing nothing and accepting occupations which added nothing to the general wealth.³¹

Kip felt that because of the facts and of the mutual animosity between whites and Chinese, the residence of the latter in California would be an obstacle to their accepting Christianity. He was shocked at the dark picture of such heathenism in the midst of a nominally Christian community, for it seemed as if occidental influence was further degrading an already outcast people. They apparently had few, if any, religious rites in the new world, except those performed at funerals, where heathen custom produced long processions in spring and autumn, musicians, roasted goats with gilded horns, and the offering of feasts to the departed. There was also an indication of certain private superstitious rites

²⁹ Kip, "Chinese Report," *SM*, XX, 86-87. The bishop, in a footnote, produces and explains a copy of a Chinese court oath which is highly interesting but not applicable here.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 87. The bishop says of the women, "of thousands in San Francisco. . . ." There seems to be some exaggeration in this statement, for, in the broadest terms there were probably not over 50, if that many, in 1852, and only 6,000 by 1876. If the bishop was right, there must have been a terrific influx of females between August, 1852, and January, 1855. To bear out his statement about the degradation of the Chinese, Bishop Kip included excerpts from a report made by a committee appointed by the Common Council to investigate the Chinese situation. It is implied but not stated that the bishop was a member of the committee.

The report presented figures concerning population and immigration, showing that 2,750 Chinese had landed in San Francisco in a two-week period. Visiting locations owned by the Chinese, the committee found them filthy; 1,500 were reported to be living in three houses, and in one place ten sick were found in a cellar. There was a proportionate number sick in all the houses visited. The report also mentioned drug addiction, drinking, prostitution and gambling, and that the Chinese were foreign slaves to foreign masters, governed by force and religious dread, and kept in terror by a secret society called the Triad. The committee concluded that slavery in its worst form was to be found in San Francisco, that the Chinese were an unmitigated nuisance, that they were endangering the health of the community, that they were a blot on the human race because of the utter want of chastity and honesty of the female population, and that the whole Chinese race should be expelled from the city, or at least they should be removed outside the inhabited lines of streets—if the Council could exercise such authority.

The committee felt it was in the peculiar position of having to apply a remedy to an evil entirely unknown before in the civilized world, but that an extraordinary disease necessitated an extraordinary remedy. Also quoted was an extract from the *Sacramento Union*, which stated that the Chinese were pests and a nuisance to the state, and that immigration should be stopped at the source.

³¹ This outlook was contrary to fact, as has been previously pointed out.

being held, for to them was attributed a fire in one of the towns in the interior. Presumably an attempt to exorcise devils from an ill Chinese was made by means of burning paper devils, one of which was dropped through some flooring and started the conflagration.³²

Some attempts had been made to benefit the Chinese spiritually in terms of Western Christianity. A Chinese Roman Catholic priest had been imported to San Francisco, and Kip often met him on the street. However, his work was unsuccessful, for he spoke a different dialect from the Cantonese of the majority. A Baptist missionary worked with the Chinese in Sacramento, but Kip had heard nothing favorable of his work. Perhaps the greatest effort to missionize the Orientals had been made by the Presbyterians under the Rev. Dr. William Speer. This group had spent some \$20,000 in erecting a building to house a chapel, school and dwelling. About a dozen people attended services, which were conducted in Chinese, and Dr. Speer was contemplating editing a newspaper which would be published three times a week in Chinese and once a week in Chinese and English. Kip asked Speer how many individuals out of the thousands of Chinese in San Francisco professed Christianity, and the answer was "about four."³³

According to the bishop, it was more difficult to establish a mission among the Chinese in California than in China, for the hostility between the races resulted in bitter opposition to Christianity. Christianity was, after all, the religion of those who despised and tormented the immigrants. Kip felt that the only thing to be done was to use every means possible to make the Chinese aware of the Gospel, for it alone could purify them and elevate them from degradation. Preaching the Gospel involved, he said, not only the welfare of the Chinese in California, but also their countrymen in China, for thousands returned to their homeland constantly, and, as things stood, carried back bitter prejudices against Christianity, a situation which threatened the efforts of the Church in China itself. The whole question was of greater concern to the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions than it was to the Domestic Committee.³⁴

The bishop did not look for any immediate results from the mission of the Episcopal Church to the California Chinese. The work would take time, self-denial, and a long wait for the harvest. He felt that inability to contact the higher classes, of which there were none, would inevitably

³² Kip, "Chinese Report," in *SM*, XX, 88-89. By 1856, Kip knew that the Chinese did have a temple in the city, for he was invited to attend one of their ceremonies. In *SM*, XXI (July, 1856), 344-347, he gave a vivid description of the festival.

³³ Kip, "Chinese Report," in *SM*, XX, 89.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

slow matters, and the fact that there were no families in California was a deterrent. To him it was in all likelihood a matter of trying to win the slave and the helot, a task performed by Christianity in ages past. It was his hope that Syle, with his background of missionary work in China, would be able to lessen prejudice, and he promised his full support to the agent of the Domestic Committee.³⁵

Except for the fact the Bishop Kip's devotion to duty would goad him to action, it is difficult to feel that, with his own prejudices and emotions that success was practically unattainable, he could have supported Syle whole-heartedly.

By October 1855, the mission to the Chinese in California was an acknowledged failure. The Board of Missions of the general Church had abandoned the effort as a result of reports submitted by both Kip and Syle. While the work had been entered into as a sacred duty, and the will of God could be seen in the opportunity of gaining the experienced Syle as missionary, reports had been discouraging from the very beginning. Syle, himself, wrote of his discouragement at being unable to speak the Cantonese dialect, for the inability had seriously limited his sphere of action. He was disturbed, too, at the degraded character of those Chinese with whom he came in contact, and his work was not helped by the prejudices he encountered, which deprived him of cooperation. Syle also made a bad mistake in establishing his home in Oakland rather than in San Francisco, for the inaccessibility of that place lessened his effectiveness. Bishop Kip was disturbed deeply over this action of Syle's, and wrote the Domestic Committee that the missionary was making very little impression. Syle had moved to Oakland because his salary did not allow him to live in San Francisco; but in Oakland he was not within eight miles of any Chinese. All he did was to visit San Francisco occasionally and help Speer, the Presbyterian, in his school.³⁶

Letters from Kip and Syle moved the Domestic Committee to write to the two men, asking a considerable number of pertinent questions. The answers to these questions showed the committee the hopeless nature of the mission in California as it was at the moment. The facts presented by the priest and the bishop, together with advice that the state government was bending every effort to exclude or end Chinese immigration, proved to the committee that matters had changed considerably in California since the board's determination to send Syle there as missionary.³⁷

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 90.

³⁶ "Report of the Domestic Committee," in *SM*, XX (October, 1855), 515-516. Hereafter cited as "Dom. Com. Chinese Report," *SM*.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 517-518.

Syle wrote to the Domestic Committee concerning legislation designed to fix a charge of fifty dollars on every immigrant landing in San Francisco, an act which it was believed would effectively stop further immigration. He mentioned also the increased tax on Chinese engaged in mining, and expressed his belief that growing prejudice would drive the Orientals from the country. He felt that any who remained in California would be so dispersed that they would not warrant special missionary attention.³⁸

This latter piece of advice caused the Domestic Committee to think carefully. Ordinarily it would have faced any difficulties, but realizing that its efforts were not calling forth the sympathy and help demanded, it believed that perhaps a change of plans was necessary. It advised that the mission to the Chinese in California be abandoned in its present form at the end of the year, following the suggestion of Syle, a suggestion with which Bishop Kip concurred.³⁹

Indeed, Kip said in his letter to the committee that he had read Syle's letter and agreed with all of it. The bishop was somewhat annoyed at the way events had taken shape. He felt that he had been placed in a very delicate position. While the committee may have felt a call of duty in establishing the California mission, it had acted without consulting him or seeking his advice. He looked upon it as something purely eastern United States in origin, and his sole place in the matter had been to accept things as they are. His views as expressed in the *Spirit of Missions* had been ignored. The result was that when Syle appeared in California, Kip did not waste a moment in telling the missionary of the hopelessness of the task. He also told Syle that nothing would be done to dampen the priest's efforts, that he would aid Syle to the utmost, but that the missionary would be left generally to work out the problem for himself. As the bishop admitted, the stand he took was worked out in such a way as to prevent his reproaching himself or being reproached by others.⁴⁰ On the surface, it appears that the bishop, piqued at not being consulted and at having his advice ignored, purposely damned the mission from the beginning and could not resist a feeling of righteous satisfaction when it proved a failure. All had turned out as he expected, and nothing had been accomplished to compensate for the money and labor expended by the Domestic Committee.

Two plans were suggested to the committee for carrying out the mission in different form. Kip proposed that, if the mission were to be

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 518.

³⁹ *Idem.*

⁴⁰ *Idem.*

continued at all, two or more unmarried men be assigned to live among and become identified with the Chinese. The committee thrust this proposal aside on the grounds that suitable missionaries were difficult to find, that they would lack knowledge and experience, and that there were obvious and practical obstacles in the way of carrying out such a plan.⁴¹

On the other hand, Syle's simple suggestion of having the parochial clergy of California bend their efforts toward converting the Chinese pleased the Domestic Committee. The committee felt that as the number of Chinese diminished, as they learned the English language and grew to know the Americans, they would be struck by Christian principles and the power of the Gospel; eventually, they would become absorbed in already existing congregations. While that time was being awaited, Chinese books and tracts could be distributed under the auspices of the missionary bishop and the parish priests.

Because of the foregoing facts and reasons, the Domestic Committee adopted a resolution to abandon the mission to California in its present form. As to future plans for Mr. Syle whom the committee had sent to California, nothing was actually contemplated. The only way out seemed to be to transfer him back to the Foreign Committee and thence to China.⁴²

While the Church temporarily, at least, abandoned the Chinese in California, agitation against them did not cease. Newspapers of the period produced scarcely an issue which did not narrate some villainy perpetrated by them, or in which American virtues did not triumph over the iniquities of Oriental criminals who always received their just deserts. And, yet, here and there amid the florid prose could be found a voice raised in anger at the treatment of the immigrants. For example, the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin* mentioned in an article not particularly favorable to the Chinese that they were being driven from the mines by the most cruel violence, without really giving grounds for offense to the Americans.⁴³ In another case, the expulsion of Chinese from the whole state or any portion of it was decried, for, as it was

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 519.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 519-521. See also *SM*, XX (October, 1855), 497. Syle did return to China where he accomplished much good. Very often it seems as if the Domestic Committee gratefully ducked any issues which seemed difficult.

⁴³ San Francisco, *Evening Bulletin*, May 5, 1856. At the time, the miners of Augua Fria Creek had enacted laws and regulations prohibiting Chinese from the mining area, preventing their holding claims by location, grant or purchase, and warning them to leave the area within ten days on pain of being forcibly removed if they failed to comply. Similar resolutions had been established at Bridgeport and Carson Creek. Chinese who failed to heed these warnings were ejected, their property burned, and themselves subjected to manhandling.

pointed out, they paid taxes, their expulsion would lose revenue, and they were of financial value to the state.

Meanwhile, the Church in California gave little information as to the steps it was taking to convert the Chinese. Not much information is to be found either in the *Journals* of the California Convention or in the newspapers until 1869. At least by that year, if not before, the Church of the Advent in San Francisco had established a Chinese Sunday school. The average attendance at the school wavered between twenty-five and thirty-eight, and it was necessary to have about one teacher for every pupil. The children were taught English, singing and Christian doctrine.⁴⁴ A secular school had been opened on Jackson Street, where daily instruction was given in English, Chinese, sewing, and pictorial cards to girls, small boys and women. Although the pupils here numbered ninety-five, the average daily attendance was only twenty-five.⁴⁵ This school had apparently commenced its work in May, 1869.

In other words, failure of the mission to the Chinese in California was complete. Following Syle's advice, the burden had been placed on the already overworked parochial clergy, and while great and diligent effort was expended to follow the precepts of the Church and preach the gospel, and while these worthy priests learned that social work among the Chinese ran at least second to religion if they were to be lifted from the gutters, the attempts were necessarily ineffective in view of, and in relation to, the large numbers of Chinese in San Francisco and California. Undermanned and without large staffs, the priests should not have been forced to assume these added duties, though, like good soldiers, they uncomplainingly and with zeal did what they could. The whole fiasco was not the failure of priests in the field; it was the failure of the Church to realize all that was necessary to evangelize successfully the Chinese in California.

While Church work with the Chinese was flickering apparently toward extinction, the Domestic Committee of the National Board of Missions renewed, at least temporarily, its interest in Pacific Coast Orientals. The committee drew the attention of the board to the necessity of evangelizing among the Chinese in the United States as well as in China. Whether it wanted the burden or not, the Domestic Committee was faced with the question of caring for "domestic" Chinese. Un-

⁴⁴ *Pacific Churchman*, IV (Nov. 4, 1869), 164. By May, 1870, the Sunday school had 150 students and 25 teachers. *Pacific Churchman*, IV (May 19, 1870), 388.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* On May 26, 1870, a report showed 100 students, 65 of whom were girls and 35 boys. Some religious instruction was given and services were held in the Chinese language. See *Pacific Churchman*, IV (May 26, 1870), 400.

willing to recommend recall of any missionaries from the Orient, the committee suggested that a special fund be set aside for the education of those native⁴⁶ Chinese who might wish to seek holy orders. This suggestion was followed by a resolution to collect special funds for the establishment of a mission, the purpose of which would be to teach the Gospel to and train a native ministry for the Chinese in America.⁴⁷

The high purposes of the resolution were weakened only by the fact that no one could see the slightest prospect of procuring candidates for holy orders except from China, and that hope was dim. The wish was expressed that the Church of the Advent in San Francisco, which had already made some attempts to bring the Chinese into the fold, might supply candidates for orders as soon as funds could be secured to defray the expenses of their education.⁴⁸

Some of the committee's ideas on educating Chinese for the ministry here at home rather than in China apparently came from Bishop Kip. He wrote the Board of Missions pointing out that Church work among the Chinese in California presented a great religious problem which could perhaps be partially solved by bringing the Chinese to the Church, rather than taking the Church to the Chinese. The bishop felt that Chinese trained in the United States could even be sent as missionaries to China. The problem had to be faced, for, as Kip indicated, to the 50,000 Orientals already in California more were to be added and sent as laborers to the Southern states.⁴⁹

Bishop Kip felt that there would be two major advantages to having Chinese trainees under the watchful eye of the Church in the United States: first, on completion of training, they, like others, would return home. The Chinese, according to Kip, did not attempt to become citizens or to find permanent residence in the state; even the dead were returned to China. Those Christianized in this country, he felt, would take their training home with them. Second, Orientals trained or Christianized in the United States would listen to the Word without some of the prejudices with which they were armed at home.⁵⁰ The bishop also pointed out the work accomplished by the Church of the Advent and the failure of the mission under Syle as object lessons proving the truth of his statements.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Native to the United States.

⁴⁷ *SM*, XXXV (January, 1870), 16-17.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁹ William Ingraham Kip, "Letter," in *SM*, XXXV (January, 1870), 5-6, dated November 5, 1869. Plans may have been brewing to send Chinese to the South as laborers, but few, if any, were ever sent.

⁵⁰ *SM*, XXXV (January, 1870), 6.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 7-9.

Despite a sudden but temporary spurt of interest on the part of the Domestic Committee, and despite Kip's suggestions, whatever work was attempted with the Chinese from 1869 on was desultory. For a period of ten years, apparently only one entry concerning them appeared either in convention *Journals* or the *Pacific Churchman*.

Bishop Kip notified the *Spirit of Missions* of a Chinese festival which had been held in San Francisco on February 21, 1875. The festival took place in the Church of the Advent under the auspices of that parish and Trinity Church. The event celebrated the sixth anniversary of the Church of the Advent Sunday school. Kip also mentioned that there was a mission school for Chinese girls in the city, and that the Sunday school taught geography, arithmetic and other secular studies, as well as religion.⁵²

In 1879, Bishop Kip stated in his address to the diocesan convention that in early May he had attended the examinations of a Chinese, Ah Ching, who aspired to deacon's orders. Ah Ching apparently assumed the name of Walter C. Young, by which he was known from then on. He had spent several years in the East where he had attended Kenyon College in Ohio, and after completing study there had come to San Francisco, where, desirous of entering holy orders, the bishop had placed him in the charge of the Rev. C. N. Spalding. From about 1877 to 1879, Ah Ching studied with Mr. Spalding and was financially supported by money granted from Trinity Church. The first candidate for orders among the Chinese on the Pacific Coast, Ah Ching was ordained deacon on May 10, 1879. The bishop felt that Mr. Spalding had trained the young man well, despite his imperfect knowledge of English, and that his knowledge of scripture was as accurate as that of most candidates who passed the examination.⁵³ A novelty in the service of ordination for the Chinese was that the new deacon read the gospel in his native tongue.⁵⁴

By May 1881, the Rev. Ah Ching, or Walter C. Young, had been carrying on a Chinese mission for two years. The mission was partially attached to Trinity Church, for the deacon was always under the directorship of the rector of that parish, and generally divine services for the Chinese were held in Trinity's Sunday school rooms; the Chinese service followed Evening Prayer. Other mission work was performed at the mission school at 907 Clay Street, where morning services were held

⁵² *SM*, XL (April, 1875), 215-217. This information also appeared in the *Pacific Churchman*.

⁵³ *JCC* (May, 1879), 24-25.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

and where instruction in religion, and incidentally English, was given five nights a week.⁵⁵

The little mission had a difficult time financially. The deacon received only \$300 a year, even though he had to work as hard as if he were paid \$2500.⁵⁶ The pupils of the school contributed between \$13 and \$15 a month for its support. When income and expenditures failed to balance, the Chinese deacon usually paid the deficit out of his own pocket.⁵⁷

In 1882, Ah Ching was married to Ah Sing of Hong Kong in a ceremony performed at Trinity Church.⁵⁸ The bridegroom kept on with his work at the mission school, remaining a deacon through the years.⁵⁹ By 1882, the mission had been in operation for over three years, but had never been formally organized; attendance, apparently, never really warranted formal organization. Classes were continued in the English language, religious instruction was given, and services were held in Trinity when it was not being used by the white congregations. Average attendance was twenty-five to thirty in the mission school. Finances were still shaky, even though income was increased to some extent by subscribers who were mostly members of Trinity Church. By this time, Ah Ching was definitely receiving his monthly stipend from the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions in New York.⁶⁰

By the year 1887, there had been no lessening of the struggle. There was no change in attendance nor in the work of the mission. Ah Ching received little help from the diocese, his priestly colleagues (except for the rector of Trinity), or his countrymen. Subscriptions to aid the mission hovered around \$13 a month, while collections on Sundays amounted to no more than \$4 per month; expenses for a four-week period were usually around \$23. There were only six communicants in the mission, and no baptisms had taken place during the year. As Ah Ching plaintively reported, lack of baptisms was the result of the migratory habits of his countrymen, and no provisions of capable men or outlay of means had been made to Christianize the 40,000 Chinese who lived in the area.⁶¹

It is interesting to note that, except in his first confirmation in California, Bishop Kip in 1887 mentioned the first confirmation of a Jap-

⁵⁵ *JCC* (May, 1881), 50.

⁵⁶ This salary was probably paid from diocesan missionary funds and from grants from the Board of Missions of the National Church. No specific indication is given.

⁵⁷ *JCC* (May, 1881), 50.

⁵⁸ *JCC* (May, 1882), 50.

⁵⁹ There is no record to 1893 of his ordination to the priesthood.

⁶⁰ *JCC* (May, 1882), 81.

⁶¹ *JCC* (May, 1887), 64.

anese. The confirmation took place in Christ Church, Alameda, and the candidate was from St. Paul's, Oakland, having been baptized and prepared for confirmation by the Rev. Hobart Chetwood. Confirmed, the boy was immediately returned to his native country.⁶² Another Japanese was confirmed in 1888, and he, too, returned to Japan shortly after the ceremony.⁶³ These are the only indications of work with Japanese to be found in the *Journals* of the diocese.

The situation of the Chinese mission was even weaker in 1890. Average attendance was down to twenty people, and finances were in no better shape than formerly. A woman teacher had been hired for the mission school.⁶⁴ The last report noted, for 1891, was that Ah Ching was by then having to pay \$13 or \$14 a month out of his own pocket to keep the mission running. He patiently and pathetically prayed that God would send him some relief.⁶⁵

About the best that can be said for the work of the Church in California with the Chinese is that it was, despite Ah Ching, a dismal failure. The records show that it was ignored by the Diocesan Missionary Board, the bishop, and the clergy and the laity. The Chinese deacon practically supported the mission by himself. It is true that the Diocesan Missionary Board had to struggle desperately to keep its missions and missionaries afloat, but there seems to be no real excuse for its dereliction of duty regarding the large Chinese society in San Francisco, a group which might very possibly have responded gratefully to understanding aid. It is equally difficult to understand the apathy of the bishop, burdened with duties though he was. He found time in convention sermons and addresses to urge all things near his heart, but never once did he demand a quickening of the Chinese mission. The mission was the neglected step-child of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California, and the winning of the Chinese was left to sectarian forces.

III. The Mission to the Negroes

The Episcopal Church in California also made a not-too-successful attempt to care for the Negro population of the state. The number of Negroes in California during the early period was not definitely known. The census of 1850 indicated approximately 1000, while that of 1852 estimates about 2200. Possibly the major portion of those were brought in as slaves, although California was not a slave state. Whatever its origin, the population grew rapidly, and one report, at least, says that in 1856

⁶² *Ibid.*, 73.

⁶³ *JCC* (May, 1888), 47.

⁶⁴ *JCC* (May, 1890), 124.

⁶⁵ *JCC* (May, 1891), 160.

there were fourteen Negro churches⁶⁶ in California, that the assessed valuation of Negro-owned property was \$150,000, and that three-quarters of a million dollars had been sent home by Negroes to their families to purchase their freedom.⁶⁷

On June 25, 1866, a certificate was granted by the Standing Committee of the diocese to Mr. Peter Williams Cassey, a Negro, recommending him to the bishop as a candidate for holy orders. The certificate was to bear the date of October 31, 1863, the day of his original application.⁶⁸ No information has been found as to who Mr. Cassey was or where he came from; however, as the first Negro in holy orders in California, he labored strenuously and diligently to bring the Church to his people.

By 1868,⁶⁹ Cassey, who was ordained deacon on August 13, 1866, had established a Negro Episcopal church⁷⁰ or congregation in San José.⁷¹ Church circles looked upon the field as becoming daily more important, and aid and assistance were asked for the work. It was felt that religious education was needed for all races of men and all grades of society. However, the success of the mission was deemed to be dubious unless the Negroes themselves felt the importance of having their own congregation.⁷²

Cassey's preparatory work had started as early as 1862, when in December of that year he had established a school in San José for colored children.⁷³ The school was started originally to supply instruction for Cassey's young relatives, who were denied school privileges because of their race and financial condition. It was soon discovered that others needed the same help. The result was the organization of the Phoenixian Institute,⁷⁴ formed by Negroes for their own improvement in the fields

⁶⁶ Not Episcopal churches, however. There is a possibility that a mission for Negroes had been established by Flavel Scott Mines. See Delilah L. Beasley, *The Negro Trail Blazers of California* (Los Angeles, 1919), 159. Hereafter cited as Beasley, *Negroes*.

⁶⁷ Rockwell D. Hunt and Nellie Van De Grift Sanchez, *A Short History of California* (New York, 1929), 518-519.

⁶⁸ *JCC* (May, 1867), 128. Beasley, *Negroes*, 159, says there is no record of the work of the Episcopal Church in California with Negroes until Cassey appeared on the scene.

⁶⁹ Beasley, *Negroes*, 175-176, implies that Cassey was rector of Christ Episcopal Church for Colored People in San José as early as 1861, when he opened a school for Negro children. This was impossible if he was not ordained until August 13, 1866, on application made in 1863. Moreover, a deacon cannot be the rector of a parish; only a priest can hold this office.

⁷⁰ Actually a mission.

⁷¹ *Pacific Churchman*, II (January 30, 1868), 272. *JCC* (May, 1867), 177.

⁷² *Pacific Churchman*, II (January 30, 1868), 272.

⁷³ Beasley, *Negroes*, 175-176, says the school was organized by Cassey in 1861 as a private boarding school on the high school level.

⁷⁴ The Phoenixian Institute formed a joint stock company and issued stock

of morals, politics and religion. This association of colored people then took over control of Cassey's school by giving him a salary of \$50 per month for teaching a day school five days, and a night school for three nights, during the week.⁷⁵

Prior to the founding of the secular school, a Sunday school had been started, and it was at this time, 1867, that the Sunday school work was placed under the direction of a superintendent. While the Sunday school work progressed favorably for a short time, it was not destined to last long. Sectarianism began its destructive work, and the Sunday school was abandoned after some ten weeks of activity. In the meantime, the day school was catering to some sixteen pupils, while the night school boasted eight.⁷⁶

Closed by the Phoenixian Institute, the day school was carried on as a private enterprise. The number of pupils was reduced to twelve who paid an average of \$2 each for tuition. In August 1863, the city of San José made an appropriation of \$50 per month for the school, and the Phoenixian Institute paid the rent of the school room. In January 1865, the city appropriation was raised to \$75 per month, and in September, 1866, to \$90. The intention of the founders had been to make the school a state institution; the city had made it a public one. Students from various areas attended as boarders, with representatives from Sacramento, Stockton, Mariposa, Gilroy and even Portland, Oregon.⁷⁷

Cassey in his report of 1867 said that the school was then occupying property formerly known as the Bascom Institute. It was located in the southern part of San José, a two-story dwelling on six fifty-*vara* lots. It had its own water well, windmill and fruit trees. The average of eight boarders paid \$12 to \$20 a month for board, washing and tuition, with the only extra charge being for instrumental music, a department which catered to ten pupils. During the school's existence, sixty-nine students attended, an average to 1865 of twenty-two per year. In 1867, there were twenty-eight in attendance, and it was hoped that the school would become a permanent institution with its own property and board of directors. Cassey pointed out that property desired by the school could be purchased for \$3,600 on or before July, 1867.⁷⁸

certificates. It acquired capital of \$20,000 by selling 2,000 shares at ten dollars a share. The Church looked upon its educational endeavor as worthy, and felt there was a great necessity for the organization and for it to secure property. The school, fathered by the Institute, purchased the Bascom property in San José, but it was up for sale in 1868, and Cassey, the head of the school, was asking for \$3,600 to enable him to keep the school open. See *Pacific Churchman*, II (February 20, 1868), 293.

⁷⁵ *JCC* (May, 1867), 207.

⁷⁶ *Idem*.

⁷⁷ *JCC* (May, 1867), 208.

⁷⁸ *Idem*.

In August 1868, Cassey was called to San Francisco to assist the Rev. G. A. Easton in a service at Dashawar Hall. His visit was reported by the *Pacific Churchman*, his education and respectability commended, and his work in San José lauded. It was suggested that the Negro population in San Francisco would benefit from similar attention.⁷⁹ A little later, an attempt was made to develop a Negro Church organization in San Francisco, St. Cyprian's congregation.⁸⁰ Cassey was asked to head the group, and Bishop Kip recommended him for the position as an intelligent and devout man. The Negro deacon's⁸¹ first San Francisco sermon was preached in Collin's Hall.⁸²

Previous to May 1870, Cassey held services in San Francisco at St. Cyprian's every alternate Sunday. For this he received a stipend of \$30 per month from Trinity Church, Grace Church, and the Church of the Advent. Services were held in a hall on Jackson Street until the place became untenable during the winter, and Grace Church was used. Cassey tried to carry on work at both St. Cyprian's in San Francisco and St. Philip's in San José. For six months he hired an assistant teacher, apparently paying her salary of \$25 a month from his own pocket. This expense, in addition to the ten dollars monthly he paid for travel between the two cities, was too much for Cassey. The excessive financial obligation added to the increasing disorganization of his mission in San José forced the deacon to abandon the work in San Francisco.⁸³

Cassey's St. Philip's mission in San José struggled desperately to keep alive. In 1868, it had twenty communicants; ten baptisms were performed during the preceding Church year, nine confirmations, and two marriages. The poverty-stricken mission was able to contribute only \$2.80 to the Convention Fund and \$4.80 to Dr. Breck's mission in Benecia; those collections plus \$31 in communion alms were all that could be garnered for Church purposes.⁸⁴

St. Philip's suffered from internecine squabbles as well as financial difficulties. From May 17, 1869, to May 1, 1870, the mission services were held in a hall purchased by the Phoenixian Institute. Prejudice from sectarian influences eventually caused abandonment of the hall. The debt and interest at the time amounted to \$2,000. The disorganized Institute determined to transfer its property, valued at \$2,500, to the mission, if it could pay the price. An effort to raise money for the pur-

⁷⁹ *Pacific Churchman*, III (August 27, 1868), 84.

⁸⁰ Later, St. Cyprian's Mission.

⁸¹ Like Ah Ching, Cassey remained a perpetual deacon.

⁸² *Pacific Churchman*, III (April 1, 1869), 332.

⁸³ *JCC* (May, 1870), 53.

⁸⁴ *JCC* (May, 1868), 301-302. These figures are given only to show the desperate straits of the mission, which prevented its expansion.

chase failed, and it was finally decided to sell the property to anyone who would buy it.⁸⁵

For awhile Cassey toyed with the idea of trying to purchase the property on which he lived, for his tenure there was shaky and, were he expelled, there would be no place for his school. However, the price of \$3,600 was too great, and Cassey began to think it advisable to purchase a place where both school work and divine services could take place.⁸⁶ He felt, also, that services held on rented premises were not proving entirely satisfactory. The expenses were great and no help had been forthcoming from the Church in California or the East.⁸⁷ His decision was to pay \$2,500 for a lot on the corner of Third and William Streets. The money was advanced not by the Church, which should have responded, but by a layman, W. A. Smith, in whom title to the property was vested. Cassey next went before the clergy of the diocese, asking financial aid to get the property vested in the mission. He failed to secure assistance, so the property remained in Smith's hands. The original place for worship having been sold, and the present deal having fallen through, services for Negroes in San José, except for the Sunday school, were temporarily discontinued.⁸⁸ This was the reward for the hard-working deacon who had expended \$3,000 of his own money to get his school and mission started.⁸⁹

In 1872, Cassey was again hard at work in both San Francisco and San José. Christ Church mission in San Francisco [records consulted did not show how or when this mission started] boasted six communicants and twenty-two Sunday school pupils. However, Cassey seemed to feel that the mission required the undivided attention of a resident clergyman in priest's orders in order to make it successful, for there were strong opposing elements which could not be met but by equally strong, earnest and persevering efforts.⁹⁰ He wrote to the *Pacific Churchman*, requesting aid and indicating that while the mission was not a success, it had all the elements to succeed. He pointed out that attendance at Christ Church mission was spasmodic, both as to regular congregation and Sunday school pupils, and he was dubious about trying to keep up both groups while two major difficulties confronted him: the Negroes had no place of their own in which to assemble, and the administration of the Holy Communion was irregular and would remain so unless the

⁸⁵ *JCC* (May, 1870), 57-58.

⁸⁶ *Idem*.

⁸⁷ *Pacific Churchman*, III (March 10, 1869), 332.

⁸⁸ *JCC* (May, 1870), 57-58.

⁸⁹ *Pacific Churchman*, III (March 10, 1869), 332.

⁹⁰ *JCC* (May, 1872), 63.

mission were closer to a church. Actually, the Holy Communion had not been administered in two years.⁹¹

In the meantime, St. Philip's Mission in San José had been re-opened⁹² with nine communicants, twenty-four Sunday school pupils, and thirty-six day scholars in the school department. Not many religious services for adults were held from September 17, 1871, when Cassey once more started work in San Francisco, to May, 1872, but the Sunday school met regularly under the guidance of Mrs. Cassey.⁹³

A letter to the *Pacific Churchman* in 1873 showed that Cassey had received, in the interim, \$321 in gifts to help his work go forward. He was an extremely busy man, for he taught all day long, acted as a steward for a household of twenty, made visitations, looked for clothing to aid his flock, cared for four dependent children, and tried to raise money for his Church work. He begged for financial and moral help to combat poverty, ignorance, and prejudice. His people, he confessed, did not know much about the Episcopal Church, and they could be made to respond only through the help and sympathy of other Church people.⁹⁴ He might have added that very little of either help or sympathy had been given to his people or his work by the very Church for which he labored. Like Ah Ching, Cassey was laboring almost single-handed in his attempts to bring the Church to his people.

The above appeal bore fruit. In 1874, Cassey reported that, with the assistance of "brethren," regular services had been held during the year at Christ Church mission. The congregation increased until the tiny hall could not accommodate all who attended. Cassey generously gave credit for the prosperity of the mission to the efforts of the Rev. G. W. Mayer. Seventeen families had been brought to the mission, including fifty-four adults and fifty-two children. There were five Sunday school teachers and fifty-five scholars learning from them. Cassey's temporal rewards had increased to where he was receiving \$300 yearly from the Domestic Committee of the National Board of Missions, and a like amount from parishes in San Francisco. The Christ Church Mission Aid Society, composed of women of the mission, had purchased and paid for an organ valued at \$250, had paid all incidental expenses of the mission, and had promised to pay the room rent when next due.⁹⁵

⁹¹ *Pacific Churchman*, VII (August 24, 1872), 1. Cassey, being a deacon, was not permitted to administer the Holy Communion. However, it remains difficult to see why other priests in the city had not celebrated this rite for him and his congregation. Later on, some did—including John L. Ver Mehr.

⁹² Records do not indicate where.

⁹³ *JCC* (May, 1872), 66.

⁹⁴ *Pacific Churchman*, VII (February 13, 1873), 1.

⁹⁵ *JCC* (May, 1874), 78.

While Christ Church mission prospered, St. Philip's continued to have a more or less difficult time. Cassey's labors were in general confined to the St. Philip's Home and School.⁹⁶ Because the Board of Education in San José had provided a school for Negro children, attendance at Cassey's school fell off to some extent, and he was deprived of the annual appropriation of \$125 he had been receiving from the city. His day school had enrolled thirty scholars during the year, the Sunday school had twenty-four, and the latter was attended by two teachers under the superintendence of the Rev. John Campbell, who had been assisting Cassey during the year. Sunday evening services for neighbors and children were held at the school, for the parish church was too far away for them to attend more than one service a day.⁹⁷

Thus the work of Cassey went on. Reports of 1875 and 1877 showed an increase in attendance at both Christ Church mission in San Francisco and St. Philip's in San José. John Ver Mehr, old, sick and at loose ends, helped the San Francisco mission when he was able by officiating at the Holy Communion.⁹⁸ By 1877, the mission was serving twenty-five families, had twenty-six communicants and seventy-five Sunday school pupils, and had raised \$1,191.80 in offerings.⁹⁹ St. Philip's apparently barely eked out an existence. But the prosperity of the one and the mere existence of the other were evidently not to last much longer, at least under Cassey's leadership. No reports were made of the progress of the missions from 1878 to 1882. In the latter year, a cold and formal entry in the bishop's report noted that the Rev. Peter W. Cassey, deacon, had been transferred to the Bishop of North Carolina. No explanation was made as to the reason for the transfer, nor were there further reports from the missions.

Conclusion

It cannot be said that the Church's work with either Chinese or Negroes was successful during the period 1849-1893—unless, of course, it could be considered that the conversion of even one person to the Church denotes success. In general, the efforts of the Church could almost be considered in inverse ratio to the efforts of the two men, Chinese and Negro, who worked so strenuously to make their missions successful. In extenuation, however, it may be pointed out that for most churches and most missions of Episcopal persuasion the period was one

⁹⁶ There is no indication as to when the Home was started. However, for some time Cassey had been caring for dependent children apparently not his own.

⁹⁷ *JCC* (May, 1874), 78.

⁹⁸ *JCC* (May, 1875), 60.

⁹⁹ *JCC* (May, 1877), 68.

of constant and bitter struggle to maintain what had already been gained, let alone to advance beyond that point; it was a struggle to wrench money from the populace to progress at all; it was a struggle to find men enough to staff the churches and carry the Word from town to town. Caucasian priests eked out as frugal an existence as did those of different race, starved as readily and suffered as much. Perhaps it may be said that the success of the Church in the Diocese of California as a whole lessened the weakness and failures of specific instances, even though it may be difficult to excuse the Church's neglect of the two groups of people which most needed help.

Bayard Hale Jones (1887-1957)

Priest, Teacher, Liturgiologist

By George M. Alexander*

I

FRIENDS of long standing, who know and appreciate a man, often are able to describe him better than members of his own family. The Rev. Dr. Cuthbert A. Simpson, who had worked with Bayard Hale Jones for many years, wrote as follows to his widow:

"I feel a great sense of personal loss. As you know, we worked together very closely for some five years on the Lectionary, and we used to write letters to each other which could easily have got either of us convicted of libel; but, as your husband once said to another man in my hearing, 'I can't see why you keep harping on some point. Simpson and I slang each other, but then, when we reach a decision, that is the end of it. . . .' That, of course, was characteristic of him. The work he did for the Church in liturgical matters was, of course, outstanding. We are all in his debt, and it is due to his knowledge and faithful persistence and, ultimately, his tact (though many people would not admit he had any) that the American Church is so far ahead liturgically of other parts of the Anglican Communion. . . ."

In this letter, the writer managed to put much into few words; for he was writing of one whose influence on the Church will surely prove to be a lasting one. Moreover, the letter speaks tersely of a man whose strong convictions aptly, sometimes sharply, spoken led him into an arena where feeling runs high, where opinions and feelings combined often produce the most amazing sorts of controversies, where custom and taste are often in open conflict. It is high praise to say of a man of wide learning and deep conviction in the field of liturgics that his "faithful persistence" and "tact," as well as his knowledge, have served the Church.

Bayard Jones was of a background which helped to make him a man whose appreciation of concepts was broad and keen, and whose grasp of the facts on which they are based was enormous. He was born in

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Golden, California, June 23, 1887, the son of the Rev. Charles Melancthon and Mary Mott Jones. The father was a Baptist minister who was himself no mean scholar. Of him, Bayard Jones spoke often with great respect and devotion, revealing as he did so the further fact that his father was a careful pastor and a prolific writer.

The influence of the home is easily to be seen in the turn the young Bayard's studies took. The classics early became part of his being, and Latin and Greek were so thoroughly learned in the formative years that he wrote with modesty of his ability to use Latin as a "vernacular."

Jones earned the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1906 and the Master of Arts in 1907, both from the University of California. An interest in and a genuine skill with the use of words is indicated in the degree of Master of Letters awarded him by the University of California in 1912, and further in the comment of the judges who awarded him the Truxton Beale Prize when they stated that the essays evaluated by the committee were all of "unusual excellence" and "recommended for publication."¹

During these years of university work, Jones became aware of the Episcopal Church and the Anglican Communion.² While teaching for a year in the high school at Visalia, California, he examined the question of the validity of Anglican orders and the truth of Anglican claims to Catholicity. With books loaned him by the Rev. Lee A. Wood, rector of the local parish, he was, as he said, "allowed to convert myself." He was presented for confirmation in Visalia in 1911. He did not as yet, however, have any plan for taking orders in the Church. In 1912, when he received the Truxton Beale Prize mentioned above, he had the idea that he would continue with graduate work in the field of English literature. But, at this point, his mind began to turn toward the ministry, and, abandoning his other plans, he was soon in touch with the Rt. Rev. William Ford Nichols, second Bishop of California, who together with the Rev. Edward L. Parsons, rector of St. Mark's, Berkeley, and afterwards Bishop of California, exercised on him a strong and healthy influence.

¹ A newspaper clipping kept for him by his mother states:

"First honors in the Truxton Beale prize competition for essays on Tolstoy's book, 'What Shall We Do Then,' have been accorded to Bayard Hale Jones, '06. This prize amounts to \$600. Jones received his M.A. in 1907, and was afterward a graduate student at Harvard University.

"... The Committee reports all the essays to have been of unusual excellence and they are recommended for publication."

² See below, p. 12, for his own account of the discovery.

At the time of Jones' death, Bishop Parsons, recalling the events of this period, wrote:

"... His intellectual ability and profound interest in the historical aspect of the Church's life were already clear. Very early in my friendship with him, I began to feel sure that his greatest contribution would be made in teaching."³

Indeed, it was not long before he was accepted as a postulant and enrolled as a student at the Church Divinity School of the Pacific. Bishop Nichols also saw in him an unusual personality with exceptional gifts, and when he was graduated from the Divinity School after a year and a half, the bishop ordained him deacon (June 11, 1913), and arranged to have Jones go to General Theological Seminary to take the Bachelor of Divinity degree, in the hope that he could do graduate work and return, in time, to teach at C.D.S.P.

At General Seminary, Jones caught on very well indeed. From the Seminary, he wrote to his fiancé, Miss Emily Forbes Stewart, as follows:

"So far, the Bishop's plans are materializing finely. Everything is turning out quite a little better than I expected. I needed money to come East, and expected the Standing Committee would grant me about \$75; and I got \$150. Working for Dr. Mollet, I supposed he would give me about \$40 or \$50; and he gave me \$100. I thought my parish work would net me about \$300 during the term; and it will come to nearly \$700. The Dean promised me a scholarship of \$100 when I came; and he gave me \$175. I hoped for a fellowship of \$500, and I am to get \$750.

"... Next year I will be 'worth' \$15,000, n'est-ce pas, drawing the income from that sum without exertion on my part."

At this time, it seemed that the bishop's plans for his future were developing rapidly. In the same letter quoted above, Jones revealed not only the awarding of a fellowship to him, but also his own plans for the use of it. He wrote:

"Not unnaturally the most interesting event of the week to me was the Faculty meeting last Thursday night, in the course of which they filled the Fellowships for next year; and your humble servant was one of the 'elect.' Quite a string of men applied, some of them of standing very high in professorial favor; and for a rank outsider, a 'dark horse' of unknown performance, to nose in at the finish, was rather unusual. The Dean assigned to me the Ellen H. Cotheal Fellowship. . . . This is new this year, the latest and most heavily endowed of the Seminary Fellowships, and yields about \$750. . . . The Dean explained to me that he thought I would need

³ *The Pacific Churchman*. Vol. 92, No. 5 (June, 1957), p. 7.

the extra money, going abroad. This is a very amiable way of looking at it, and I must say I'm obliged to him."⁴

Meanwhile, plans for ordination to the priesthood developed according to his hopes, and Jones was ordained in the Chapel of the Good Shepherd at General Seminary on March 25, 1914. Several days afterward, he wrote again to Miss Stewart, his impressions of the service, his gratitude to those who had participated,⁵ and proceeded to comment on things on which in later years he became expert and about which he acquired profound convictions.

One conviction which grew with the years was then put as follows:

"I succeeded in persuading the Bishop to use the first form of Ordination, which he dislikes as implying the doctrine of a tactual succession, and never uses. As a matter of fact, he read the formula without much heart in it, as if he felt somewhat aggrieved, and had misgivings about what he was doing; but I almost smiled as I thought how little his personal opinions or desires had to do with the matter: I was receiving my Orders from a far higher source, whose mere agent the Bishop was; it was God the Spirit who was making me a priest."

The letter described his feelings on the occasion of his advancement from one order of ministry to another:

"The step from the Diaconate to the Priesthood is far less revolutionary in the habits of life than was my ordination as Deacon. That meant a change from a layman to a clergyman; and the mere change of dress emphasized how great this change was, and kept it clearly before my mind. In spite of Fr. Lathrop's polite opinion that the Diaconate did not convey the slightest grace of Holy Orders,

⁴ A key to Jones' character is found in the same letter:

"One of the incidental results of this turn of affairs is the marked increase of respect and interest on the part of the undergraduates. A certain disposition on the part of some of them to touch their hats to me as a clergyman has become overt and unmistakable. They fall into talk with me on the campus; they laugh uproariously at the *very mild* attempts I make at whimsicality; they climb to our perch on the fourth floor and waste my time with theological discussions and inquiries. . . . All this is interesting, because, though I have always been very friendly to everyone I met, I have generally been sufficiently preoccupied to waste but little time in a general way. . . . It is very pleasant, though, to feel that they cherish no resentment to an outsider's coming in for a plum from their pie."

⁵ "Seminary classes had to go on as usual, but about a third of the students were able to attend the service. Dr. and Mrs. Hale were there from Brooklyn, and a delegation from All Angels'. It was a very simple service, but one of great dignity and beauty. Dr. Hall (Francis J. Hall) preached. . . . Dr. Townsend presented me; Thomkins, a Fellow in Deacon's Orders, said the Litany; and Bishop Greer himself was there to ordain me, though he had to hurry away to the funeral of a friend and left after the offertory of the Mass, of which the Sub-dean, Dr. Denslow, was the Celebrant. Canon Nelson, a very kindly old man of the old school, attended the Bishop and read the Epistle; the Bishop himself was the Gospeller."

it meant a great deal to me. I was very far from despising the 'inferior Office' of Deacon: It authorized me to baptize, to marry, to preach the Word; it gave me clerical status and authority among the people. I often felt prouder of the badge of my ministry, the stole drawn diagonally across my breast, than as if it had been the riband of a royal order. . . . Now of course my street dress and general position is exactly the same. Even in Church the only difference is that I now wear my stole over two shoulders instead of one!"

Many years after the day of his ordination to the priesthood, when as teacher of polity, canon law, and liturgics in the School of Theology at the University of the South, his influence was powerful, Dr. Jones tried diligently to make clear the idea that the diaconate is an important as well as a valid order of ministry. During one of the periods when he was acting dean there, he instituted the custom, which still prevails, of having the minister assisting at a celebration wear the stole "deacon-wise," be he bishop, priest or deacon. Time and again he said to faculty and students with characteristic emphasis that the order of the diaconate, neglected in modern times, should not be regarded as an inferior order. Something of that idea appears in his letter to his fiancé as quoted above.

An unusual interest in and understanding of matters liturgical also is shown in that letter:

"I celebrated my first Mass the next day, taking the regular parochial celebration at All Angels'. The Rector graciously came in, and officiated as Gospeller; the Senior Curate was Episteller. The service was a surprise to me in several ways. For one thing, I was afraid of the ritual. I do not approve of the ordinary Protestant sloppiness and disregard of tradition on the one hand; and on the other, it never struck me as exactly right to try to cram into our simple revised service all the extravagant elaboration which the Roman liturgy received at the hands of the facile French. Of the two, the latter is of course preferable; and I felt I had best learn the full ancient service, and then depart from it only from reason and practical experience. But the great trouble about it is that it is so complex. Some priests seem so preoccupied with the task of going through the proper gestures that they have no time to think of the real meaning of the service. . . ."⁶

⁶ These comments agree and disagree with later developments in Dr. Jones' thought—"sloppiness and disregard of tradition" he ever thought of as abomination. He did not make much use in later years, however, of the title "the Mass." In a set of "Advent Lectures" delivered at the Cathedral in Atlanta in 1948, he wrote: "The word 'Mass' contains about as little meaning of its own as any word which the human mind has invented. What proper meaning it ever had it has utterly lost; and the vacuum has been filled up by assigning to it the acquired significance of 'The Eucharistic Sacrifice.'"

The next series of excerpts from that letter states some things which rather sum up ideas about the liturgy and the ministry, ideas which became clearer and more decided points of teaching as the years and much careful study progressed, although he did depart from the "full ancient service."

"It is interesting that none of these things bothered me at all. I did not even have to try to remember the ritual complexities; I went through it all, and none of it seemed burdensome, formal, or excessive; a thread of logic and propriety ran through it, and it seemed the natural and inevitable expression of the overflowing feeling of the service.

"For another thing, there are so many priests who magnify the function of their office for its miraculous powers and prerogatives, and seem to regard themselves as so much the sacerdotal functionary, the hierophant, the thaumaturge. I do not believe in that at all, holding the only true and substantive Priesthood to be Christ's, and my own merely derivative, representative and ministerial. But I was not sure how I would feel as I stood at the Altar. . . . I was especially doubtful as to the way the Eucharistic Presence would impress me.

"But I need not have worried. From the first moment of the service, it all seemed like the sixth chapter of Isaiah. . . . I did not seem a functionary. . . . It was not my service, my words and acts, but those of the great Church of God in heaven and on earth. . . ."

Although the word was never written, perhaps never spoken, the passages quoted above show a positive leaning toward the study of liturgics. In another place, Jones wrote that in preparation for his first celebration of the Holy Communion he had "conscientiously perused McGarvey, the authority on the subject," a study which probably increased his already great concern for the art of worship.

Little information is available, but there is no doubt that the year of study at Oxford University made a great impression on Jones, and travel on the continent just prior to World War I offered an opportunity to see with the eye many things read about in books. Comparison of continental and English practices which he observed had the effect of increasing his understanding of, and satisfaction with, the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Anglican Communion, although he often declared himself to have been mightily smitten with the "grandeur that was Rome," as that was exhibited in St. Peter's.

Financial problems at the Church Divinity School of the Pacific thwarted Bishop Nichols' plans to have his protege return to the fac-

ulty. In consequence, Jones was assigned, in 1916, as vicar of St. James' Church, Paso Robles, and there he served for two years.

In 1917, on August 31, he was married to Miss Emily Forbes Stewart, who quickly became accustomed to rectory life and who gave her husband every encouragement to pursue his natural inclination as student and writer, as well as devoted parish priest.

Jones took to parish life and the pastoral ministry as if he were made for it and for that alone. He seemed glad to leave the academic environment for the wider opportunities both for thought, study and the practice of the priestly and pastoral arts offered in the small parish. Unlike so many students who look upon the relative isolation of a small community as disastrous, he seemed to find in the midst of the activities of the parish both time and resources for serious scholarship.

In later years, as teacher of parish administration and pastoral theology, Dr. Jones admonished students again and again to use their time profitably, to allow themselves to become specialists in at least one subject—any subject; to keep their morning hours for study and planning. This is precisely a reflection of his own experience and practice; for, in due time, the diocese, and then the province, then the whole Church began to hear from him as a priest who studied harder and more purposefully after ordination than before.

That Jones was early regarded as a student of promise is evident from a letter to the Rt. Rev. Boyd Vincent, Bishop of Southern Ohio, in which he states he is responding, belatedly, to the bishop's request for an opinion "on the troublesome subject of Reservation." The letter bears the date, May 28, 1917. His treatment of the "troublesome subject" required eight single-spaced pages of typing, and dealt with the matter clearly and positively on both canonical and theological grounds.

After two years at St. James', Jones was persuaded to accept the call of the vestry of All Saints' Church, Watsonville, California. Here he served as rector for twelve years. In this period, he learned much about the problems of parish administration and found them to his liking.

An inference which might be called indicative appeared in *The Pacific Churchman* a few months after his arrival in Watsonville.

"At the September meeting of All Saints', Watsonville, a review of the parish finances in the past eight months since the first of the year showed that over \$550 had been raised for old obligations, completely wiping out a debt of several years' standing; nearly \$200 applied to last year's apportionments; and all apportionments for the current year met month by month out of the budget. In spite of this, the Vestry was not greeted with the usual vacation slump

in the balance on hand, which had steadily climbed from a deficit of nearly \$100 at the end of January to a surplus of more than the same amount at the end of August. The Vestry thereupon voted to increase the salary of the Rector, the Rev. Bayard H. Jones, by the sum of \$300 per annum."⁷

Asked by Bishop Nichols in 1922 to take the chair of history at C.D.S.P., Jones replied that, after some experience in it, he preferred the life and work of the parish priest, who, if he really wants to, can be both scholar and writer as well. In declining, however, he did offer to fill a gap at the Divinity School on a part time basis until another could be found for the work. As the bishop acknowledged in his reply, for Jones to have done so would have put him under a heavy burden of travel, and in the end it was Bishop Parsons who took on the work as an "extra curricular activity."

In his letter, Bishop Nichols acknowledged and approved the new thought presented by Jones, that of being at once scholar, writer and parish priest, although it was not quite in accord with the original plan he had in mind for either Jones or C.D.S.P.⁸

From his parish in Watsonville, he began to send regular contributions to the diocesan periodical, *The Pacific Churchman*. These contained observations on ecclesiastical and academic matters covering a wide field. Sometimes it would be a sermon, as for example, one preached on the ordination to the priesthood of a boyhood friend; sometimes it took the form of wise counsel, as when he wrote of "How to Promote Church Attendance."

In the former of the two items, mentioned above, is to be found an interesting statement at once biographical and descriptive of a strongly held point of view.

"... Two boys found themselves side by side at the feet of learning in the University of California and in the blameless orthodoxy of the First Baptist Church of Berkeley. Both were students of

⁷ *The Pacific Churchman*, Vol. LV, No. 3, (October, 1919), p. 15.

⁸ The letter from Bishop Nichols, dated May 22, 1922, is as follows:

My Dear Jones:

"Let me acknowledge your letter at once and thank you for writing me so freely and so fully. This is only an acknowledgement of it to forecast to you the feeling that in view of all you say I really ought not to ask you to undertake the work unless it seems absolutely necessary. I feel that it would be exacting on your health; and in your attachment to the parish idea with the possibility of using your pen out of your scholarly studies instead of a chair of teaching, I believe your instinct is sound.

"I will look around a little hoping to find some other way of arranging the matter. I quite appreciate the situation as you state it, and cannot but commend your attitude for future usefulness, though I believe none of the accomplishment under the earlier prospectus has been thrown away."

languages, literature and philosophy. Both were convinced of the schematic rightness of the religion in which they had been reared. . . . Suffice to say that both loved to argue; and so they saw a good deal of each other.

"Just twenty-five years ago one of them happened to put his head inside the doors of old St. Patrick's Church, San Francisco. There he saw something he had never seen before—a whole congregation down on their knees, paying no attention to who was looking, unaffectedly worshipping God. In its effect, this sight ultimately determined the rest of the lives of both boys. Thereafter, both were obsessed with the splendid pageantry of Catholic worship and roused to militant resistance by the immeasurable assumptions of Catholic dogma. . . . For them the dogma could neither be accepted nor ignored . . . while the worship, fallacious and indefensible as it seemed to their minds, held a haunting beauty beyond anything else on earth. By a long way round . . . both came to rest at last in the middle way, in a Protestant Catholicism."⁹

Other articles appeared in *The Pacific Churchman*, one under the column head "At the Quarter Post," several as titled articles under Jones' by-line. One of the latter deserves particular attention since it indicates a line of interest in which he was later deeply involved. This item bears the title "The Dilemma of Reunion." He wrote:

"It is generally assumed . . . that the growth of mutual good feelings has removed the chief obstacle to our goal (of reunion). The successive steps to Union are said to be Antagonism, Toleration, Cooperation, and Unification. We are, in fact, entering the third of these eras. When we reflect, however, that it has taken the Protestant world four centuries merely to realize that there is such a thing as the sin of schism, we must discount a too heady optimism that would predict an instant accomplishment of the remaining tasks of mutual understanding and acceptance.

" . . . Actual homogeneity of the laity is often claimed as a tremendous asset for reunion. But actually this condition enhances the difficulty of a constructive solution; for no plan of Unity can be of enduring value which does not comprehend all the varied riches of the historic heritage of Christian experience."¹⁰

The article proceeded to discuss current theories proposed as bases for reunion: the basis of "Our Common Christianity" or the "Highest Common Factor"; the "Lowest Common Denominator"; the "Lambeth Quadrilateral." In the course of the discussion, several pertinent remarks stand out. First, he declared that the Churches of the Anglican

⁹ *The Pacific Churchman*, Vol. 65, No. 8 (March, 1929): Article, "Defending and Extending the Faith," by Bayard H. Jones, pp. 12f.

¹⁰ *The Pacific Churchman*, Vol. 62, No. 12 (July, 1927), p. 15f.

Communion have "always been a sort of laboratory or testing ground" for the principles involved in bringing diversity into unity.

"As Anglicans, therefore, we know that a real comprehensiveness is practicable, because our Communion is an illustration of it. We are a kind of microcosm of contemporaneous Christendom . . . a practical demonstration of how it is possible for 'many men of many minds' to dwell together in unity. . . ." ¹¹

Even so, however, Anglicans cannot accept a reunion plan which would eliminate "our one positive possession with which we can never afford to part, and which it is our privilege to offer as our major contribution to the reunited Church," the historic ministry, "the Christian priesthood."

"It is perhaps the most serious and fundamental problem of reunion that we should find a way so to offer this gift, that it can be accepted.

" . . . Our dilemma therefore is this: How can we offer them (the Protestant Churches) something they do not believe we have (i.e. a priesthood), in such a way that they can self-respectingly accept it? And on the other hand, how can we receive them into communion on their terms, without the suicide of our own faith, and the annihilation of our contribution to the Church of the future?" ¹²

He suggested that in "one part of the world at least the irresistible force of faith has met the immovable object of self-will, and the result seems to be a perfect fusion in the infinite heat of charity." The reference, of course, is to the attempt in South India to effect reunion through a scheme which Jones regarded as "extremely simple" and in fifty years sure to produce a reunited Church with "universally valid Orders of the Catholic Succession." The article ended with an indirect quote of words spoken by Bishop Parsons of California.

"The task of the Episcopal Church is not to train, and offer for reunion with Rome, a small body of perfectly formed Catholics; our task is to catholicize Protestantism from within!" ¹³

Another article of unusual interest in this period is one published in *The Living Church*, in which Jones expressed the opinion that the Church was in need of clergy convinced of the need to preach the Gospel, to be evangelists:

"Curiously enough, the very perfection of our Church conduces to the imperfection of her clergy. We have come to depend on organiza-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

tion, not initiative. In reliance on the power of God, we tend to forget how He uses the ministry of men. We rest upon the Church as the Ark of Salvation, and deprecate the aggrandizement of individual personality. We live under the last traces of the evil tradition of the eighteenth century, when our Church was universally regarded as so completely sufficient that her clergy felt themselves dispensed from doing any work whatever."¹⁴

He commented on the tendency of Episcopalians to lean on the method of Christian nurture, to be suspicious of the "evangelical" message, which, he said, had become "associated with dubious doctrines and dubious methods." Distrust of revivalism, of the familiar Protestant "plan of salvation," and of the "current conversion psychology, that puts the whole emphasis on a single artificially induced emotional orgy, and confines the meaning of religion to a single experience," he regarded as well founded.

Our Gospel is to teach not just the Teaching Christ, but the whole Christ, God's covenant with children in which they are "no more strangers and foreigners," but fellow-citizens with the saints. It is our task "to awaken them to a realization of the faith, a personal and active conviction, a true appropriation of the Redemption." The article poses the question: "What shall we do then?"

"We of the clergy must take more seriously our office as evangelists. Instead of deprecating 'the foolishness of preaching' as secondary to a fixed service of worship, we must be mindful of those great words that rang as a thunder-peal in the ears of Coleridge:

'I preached as never sure to preach again,
And as a dying man to dying men!'

We must abandon the comfortable dullness of the old expository tradition. . . .

"The proclamation of our Gospel must inform the minds as well as appeal to the emotions. . . . Fortunately this does not mean a dogmatic Gospel. . . . Nor does it mean a contentious Gospel, for such is the self-witnessing character of the truth, that the Catholic religion does not have to be proved but it does have to be stated. . . .

"Our evangelism must not be left to the visit of a trained missionary, nor relegated to the activities of a flying squadron of local laymen seeking for the lapsed. It must begin and continue in the pulpit of the parish Church. . . ."¹⁵

One might say that one of the constantly recurring themes in Jones' writings and in his preaching was, "Away with dullness!"—in the con-

¹⁴ *The Living Church*, Vol. LXXX, No. 10 (January, 1929), "The Gospel of Our Church," pp. 339f.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

duct of fixed public worship, in preaching, in teaching and in pastoral ministration. To him, every aspect of the Church and the Christian faith was exciting, and to make it seem dull and pedestrian was, perhaps, the unforgivable sin.

In 1930, there began a period which he often referred to as a "strange interlude." In that year, he became dean of Trinity Church Cathedral in Reno, Nevada. He found in Reno the need for a new and different kind of pastoral ministry, and in response to the need he developed certain specialties in dealing with large numbers of people not of his own congregation but greatly in need of the counsel of a wise priest.

After six years in Reno, he returned to the diocese of California as rector of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin in San Francisco.

During these years of parish ministry, an association, arising out of mutual respect in earlier times, developed between Jones and Bishop Parsons into a warm friendship and a working partnership. The bishop was made chairman of the Liturgical Commission in 1930, and on his nomination Jones became a member of that Commission in 1934.

While Jones was still in Reno, there began a joint effort on the part of Bishop Parsons and the dean to produce a study of the American Book of Common Prayer. With Jones' return to the diocese of California in 1936, work on that project progressed very rapidly, and in 1937 Parsons' and Jones' definitive book on *The American Prayer Book* made its appearance and quickly became the authoritative textbook on the subject.¹⁰

¹⁰ Parsons and Jones, *The American Prayer Book*, N. Y. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937.

Of this joint work, Bishop Parsons wrote as follows:

"Soon after Bishop Slattery's sad death in 1930 at the height of his brilliant career, I was asked to take up work which he had projected: a study of the Prayer Book which would bring up to date the material in such books as Dr. Hart's, and be a little less cumbered with notes than the widely known Proctor and Frere. Dr. Jones offered his help, and indeed was responsible for the first draft of much of the central part of the book. *The American Prayer Book*, which was published in 1937, was a perfect example of cooperation." *The Pacific Churchman*, Vol. 92, No. 5, p. 7.

Dr. Jones wrote of the same matter in *The Witness*, Vol. 28, No. 5 (July 12, 1945) in an article by him on "Bishop Parsons' Liturgical Work." He said:

"... The Bishop knew that with his diocesan responsibilities it would be indispensable to have some help in an undertaking of this size; and did me the signal honor of inviting me to share the work, knowing that for twenty years I had been making an intensive study of the history of Christian worship, though with the unusual restraint of not having published a word on the subject."

Dr. Burton Scott Easton, in a review of the book in *The Living Church* (Dec. 11, 1939), commented:

"This volume supersedes all other works on the Prayer Book. . . ."

As he assumed the duties of rector at St. Mary the Virgin, Jones was also named lecturer at C.D.S.P. in the fields of Church history and liturgics. Included at that time in the department of Church history were the allied studies, canon law and ecclesiastical polity. Thus did the plans of Bishop Nichols begin to bear at least partial fruit.

In 1938, Jones was made honorary canon of Grace Cathedral, San Francisco, and in June of that year he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity, *honoris causa*, by C.D.S.P., in acknowledgment of demonstrated accomplishments as parish priest, scholar and writer.

It was in that year also that Jones had published his first occasional paper on a strictly liturgical theme. In October, 1938, *The Anglican Theological Review* carried an article by him on "Liturgical Discoveries of the Twentieth Century." The content of the paper, and the handling of the matters included, gave clear evidence of long acquaintance with the subject and deep understanding of the background of Christian worship.

II

Hardly had Dr. Jones begun his ministry in San Francisco and his teaching at C.D.S.P. when he was approached by the vice chancellor of the University of the South, Dr. Alexander Guerry, with an invitation and appeal to accept the deanship of the School of Theology of that institution. Jones' reply was emphatic: he would not care to be dean of that or any other such institution. In time, however, he was persuaded to accept the Benedict Chair of Church History there—and with it the title "Acting Dean."

The move to Sewanee, Tennessee, marked the beginning of a new and quite different life for Dr. and Mrs. Jones. The School of Theology was at a low ebb, having been without a dean for eighteen months, and without a permanent man in the field of Old Testament for approximately two years. Students were few, morale was not high, and problems were many and complex. Jones' arrival early in 1939 was in large part responsible for the beginning of a new era in the life of the school.¹⁷ With him he brought a native courage and sparkling wit, a "breezy" Western attitude, with which, to the possessor of it, all things seem possible. With one hand, he grasped firmly the administrative duties of the dean's office, began to re-vamp outmoded procedures therein, to make things ready for the prospective new dean, and to take over the teaching of courses in Church History, Polity, Canon Law and Litur-

¹⁷ This writer was a student in the senior class when Jones arrived.

gics. With the other hand, he set up a study in his home for serious work on the proposed revision of the lectionary, in which he had been interested for some time. Students were quickly drawn to the home, where Mrs. Jones was more than gracious, and where Dr. Jones' wood-working and book-binding hobbies attracted much interest.

In 1940, the Rev. Dr. Fleming James, who had been introduced to Sewanee through the summer sessions of the Graduate School of Theology, was named Dean and Professor of Old Testament. Dr. Jones was glad to be delivered from administrative matters, declaring that never again would he be caught in such a trap.

Meanwhile, he had contributed a paper to the "Church Congress Syllabus,"¹⁸ and a number of short items to various Church papers. In 1940-41, he wrote feature articles for *The Southern Churchman* under the heading, "Prayer Book Backgrounds." In 1942, he contributed an article to *The Witness* on "The Bible in the Prayer Book,"¹⁹ and in the same year one to *The Anglican Theological Review* on "Marriage and Divorce."²⁰

The last of these articles was pointed backward to the Reports of the General Convention Commission on Marriage and Divorce produced in 1931 and 1940, and forward to the Report of the Commission sure to be made in 1943. The burden of the argument was that, in view of the history of the Church's attitude toward marriage and divorce which he outlined very carefully, "it is a pity . . . we have tried to dispose of a grave social and moral question by passing a sweeping law about it." The opinion was stated in conclusion that "there is only one thing we can do about it, and once for all. That is to exact the simple clearcut stand of forbidding the clergy to take any part whatever in the contraction or the benediction of marriages which the Church's basic principles do not permit it to approve."²¹

Another significant bit of writing, "Creating the Trial Lectionary," was submitted to *The Churchman* in 1942. In this, Dr. Jones addresses the questions: Why a new lectionary so soon after the revision of 1928? Upon what principles of choice will the proposed lectionary rest? What are the basic objectives to be met in a lectionary for the Episcopal Church?²² In the closing paragraphs of this piece, he suggests that "it would take a book to discuss the application [of the principles outlined]

¹⁸ *Anglican Theological Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (October, 1939), "The Nature of the Church," pp. 293-312.

¹⁹ January 29, 1942, pp. 8f.

²⁰ Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (January, 1942), pp. 38-62.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

²² Vol. CLVI, No. 8 (April 15, 1942), pp. 10-12.

to specific days and seasons. Some day that book may be written." It was, in fact, he who wrote the book which appeared in 1944 under the title, *The American Lectionary*.²³

Work on the lectionary, begun as an assignment from the Liturgical Commission, became for Dr. Jones an absorbing interest as he got along with it. A ream of correspondence was exchanged with Dr. Simpson, then professor of Old Testament Literature and Interpretation at General Theological Seminary, and reference was made in several letters to personal encounters. The tone of the correspondence is such as to indicate a close friendship beginning with and growing out of a mutual interest. Certainly in his work on the lectionary Jones received a great deal of help and support from Dr. Simpson, the Rev. Morton Stone, the Rev. Dr. E. R. Hardy, the Rev. Dr. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., and others.

By this time, Dr. Jones' files began to be crammed with letters, notes, experimental articles, and arguments having to do with the affairs of the Standing Liturgical Commission, to the meetings of which he went regularly as member and to which he gave an increasing amount of time. His position within the commission at this time and the respect fellow members had for him are stated in the following excerpt from the minutes of the commission:

"From 1934 to 1943, Dr. Jones was chiefly responsible for coordinating and developing the work of the Commission on the revision of the lectionary of the Daily Offices. When the General Convention met in October, 1943, Dr. Jones was accorded the unusual honor of being invited to address that body, though he was not a deputy, concerning the principles and values of the lectionary upon which he had devoted such indefatigable labor and care."²⁴

An astonishing number of letters containing all sorts of inquiries began now to come in from former students. These letters indicate as clearly as anything can do the respect and affection with which his students re-

²³ On December 31, 1944, Jones wrote to his friend, the Rev. Byron Underwood, as follows:

"Well, the saints be praised! I finally got shut of the nine-year-long task of the Lectionary; even got my conclusions and reflections published by Morehouse. . . ."

The American Lectionary (New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1944), in unusual demand for a book of its kind, was reprinted in 1957. Dr. Jones considered this his best work.

E. C. Chorley (*Church Historical Magazine*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 353) wrote: "This is surely a *must* book for the clergy, and . . . for candidates for holy orders, whose lack of knowledge of scripture is lamentable. . . ."

²⁴ Excerpt from the Minutes of the Standing Liturgical Commission of June 25-27, 1957.

garded him as a person and his effectiveness as a teacher. Both the letters and Dr. Jones' replies show as time passed an ever greater concentration in the field of liturgics; they show also that his own appreciation of the Church's liturgy was beginning to percolate through his students down into the parishes and missions and into the lives of the people they served.

Fortunately, Dr. Jones was an expert typist, one who could type almost as rapidly as he could speak. Into letters to former students went a remarkable combination of sifted knowledge of things academic and practical, sound judgment, keen wit, and well turned phrases to carry his point. When he chose to scold a former student for some "knuckle-headed" opinion or practice, he could do so in language sometimes unprintable, but never to be forgotten by the recipient. He gladly risked the loss of friendships if, by making a correspondent angry, he could also make him think and keep him hard at work on post-graduate studies.²⁵

If an inquiry caught him off balance, ignorant of facts or in error, he was quick to say so, and showed by his reply careful and patient consideration of the matter. On occasion a letter from some young clergyman would send the doctor into a frenzy of research. Replies to several such letters begin: "Well! I never thought of that!," or, "Well! You caught me flatfooted on that!," or, "You know, I had never thought of it in quite that way!" From some such beginning, his letter would go on to discuss the problem fully and freely. Some of these letters are carefully documented, and some contain reading lists for the recipient to use for himself.

To the duties of teaching in the regular sessions of the School of Theology, Dr. Jones added work from time to time as teacher in the Graduate School of Theology, a summer school designed to give parish clergy opportunity to study toward the master's degree in theology. Founded in 1937, under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Royden K. Yerkes, then professor of theology at Sewanee, the Graduate School offered Dr. Jones a strong incentive to develop on the graduate level courses specifically in liturgics.

When Dean James retired in 1947, Dr. Jones was again faced, he thought, with the forbidding prospect of becoming acting dean. It was decided, however, to lay that burden on the Rev. Dr. Robert M. Grant,

²⁵ One letter to a friend whose name does not appear on the carbon contains the following:

"I am really quite sorry that you were irritated by the pontifical tone of my strictures on your well-meant suggestions. Of course I was quite aware that it was inevitable that you would be. Goodness knows, you irritated me enough by offering such a lot of preposterous proposals. . . ."

who had come to Sewanee as assistant professor of New Testament. He, too, was relieved when the Rev. Robert F. Gibson, Jr. accepted the deanship and was in residence by September of that year. Since Dean Gibson was prepared to teach Church History, he and Dr. Jones worked out a schedule of teaching assignments which gave Jones his first opportunity to concentrate heavily on liturgics in the regular session of the school. This arrangement suited both men very well, for Dean Gibson had been for six years associate professor of Church History at Virginia Theological Seminary, and Jones had begun to give more and more of his time to research in liturgics, to writing in that field, and to the work of the Standing Liturgical Commission.

The catalog of the School of Theology during this period shows that the number of elective courses in liturgics was greatly increased. Perhaps the most important of these was a course on the "Theology of the Prayer Book," and a course of readings in the ancient liturgies.

After an all-too-brief two years, Dean Gibson was elected Bishop Suffragan of Virginia, and once again Dr. Jones looked askance at the acting deanship. He bowed to the inevitable and allowed himself to be "boxed in" again as acting dean until the Rev. Francis Craighill Brown assumed duties of office in the fall of 1950. Dean Brown, too, had taught Church History in the Central Theological School, Shanghai, and he became lecturer in the history of missions. An additional instructor was employed at the same time to teach the routine course in general Church History. Thus once again Jones was free to move ahead in his area of special interest.

Among the products of his typewriter in this period were two articles of value, the purpose of which was to present to the Church the work and the thinking of the Liturgical Commission; another two intended to promote the observance of the 400th anniversary of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI; and still another pair commenting on the need for careful study of the *Prayer Book Studies* series being prepared by the Liturgical Commission.

The first two of the articles mentioned above were written by him as "member of the Standing Liturgical Commission" and as "Vice-Chairman" of the commission. In the first of these to appear, Jones stated the case for "A New Approach to Prayer Book Revision," the title of the paper.²⁶ Therein he reviewed the history and problems of Prayer Book revision, and stated very clearly the nature of the obstacles to be surmounted under our system whenever revision is proposed. Previous revisions, he said, were only partially successful. In fact, the creation of

²⁶ *The Living Church*, Vol. CXII, No. 24 (June 16, 1946), pp. 8-10.

the Standing Liturgical Commission in 1930 was an attempt to prevent the "closing out" and liquidation of future proposals "out of sheer weariness."

Note was made of the fact that proposals for revision submitted to General Convention in 1943, in preparation for a draft revision of the Prayer Book to be considered by Convention in 1949 (on the occasion of the fourth centennial of the Prayer Book), were "promptly rejected by the House of Bishops," which was preoccupied with war-time problems.

That rebuff by the House of Bishops, wrote Jones, produced in the commission the thought that the plan of a "complete draft book" was perhaps too ambitious, and further that it would create the false impression that there was afoot a plan for immediate and general revision.

"What the situation called for was some more gradual approach; something which would not precipitate an instantaneous revision, and which would more slowly and surely prepare the mind of the Church for an eventual successful action. . . ." ²⁷

Thought about the more gradual approach brought to the attention of the commission experiences already at hand with the lectionary, adopted as proposed in 1943, and *The Hymnal 1940*, which also was adopted without much debate—both of these having been gradually worked out and approved over a long period of time by actual use. Reflections on these experiences brought into sharper focus the like experience of the Church in South Africa, and the Church in Canada, where revision was being accomplished by the issuance of draft forms to the individual offices for study and for "prolonged periods of trial use." In these efforts, "results were formally adopted only when the new forms had become entirely familiar, adequately tested, and universally approved." ²⁸

The procedure of the Liturgical Commission then became that with which we are now familiar.

"We still desire to make our official contribution to the world-wide observance of the 400th anniversary of the First Book of Common Prayer. But we propose to do so in the form of a series of 'Prayer Book Studies,' to be published by the Liturgical Commission from time to time as the material may be ready, and to continue as long as may be necessary, with as many revisions and reconsiderations as may be desired. Each issue will deal with a single office or feature of the Prayer Book, and will propose a revision of that lim-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

ited field accompanied by a full and frank discussion of the points at issue, and the reasons for the changes offered."²⁹

It was, and is, the hope of the commission that out of these "studies" revision would grow as a "natural development," producing a "living liturgy allowed to grow and develop from its own living roots."

The second article, to which reference was made above, was written after the first four of the *Prayer Book Studies* had been produced, and dealt particularly with the effort of the commission to "check our results by the direct reactions of the clergy of a great metropolitan Diocese."³⁰ To that end, a week of liturgical conferences was sponsored by the Department of Education of the Diocese of Chicago, led by members of the Liturgical Commission, for the study and discussion of *Prayer Book Studies, IV: "The Eucharistic Liturgy."* This paper was a note on that conference and a report on suggestions received from the Chicago clergy.

By this time, Dr. Jones was vice-chairman of the commission, editor of its publications, and had been made chiefly responsible for *Prayer Book Studies*, Numbers II and IV.³¹

Two papers were prepared by him for the observance of the 400th anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer. The first of them was published in *Forth*, a short article which gave briefly the story of the principal differences between the English Book of 1662 and the American Books of 1789, 1892 and 1928. The last of these Books was described as the "greatest revision," not perfect, to be sure, but significant in that "every office, save those in the Ordinal, received consideration." The direction of the 1928 revision was toward enrichment, and shows emphatically that in the Church "there is ample room for the prophet and the priest, for the mystic and the ritualist. All parties profited alike from richer and more adaptable provisions for the needs of men."³² Here again was revealed Jones' interest in and concern for a "living liturgy." He wrote: "This 'greatest revision' was not perfect. No Prayer Book perhaps ever can be, while the Church is alive and growing."³³

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁰ *Advance* (Magazine of the Diocese of Chicago) Vol. 64, No. 3, "Clergy Study Prayer Book Changes," p. 11.

³¹ "In the work of preparation and editing of the *Prayer Book Studies* begun by the Commission in 1950, Dr. Jones' contributions have been incalculable. His peculiar genius may be particularly noted in the second and fourth of the Studies, on the Eucharistic Lectionary and Rite respectively, for he had the major responsibility in drafting the learned introductions to these volumes."—*Minutes of the Standing Liturgical Commission, June 25-27, 1957.*

³² *Forth*, Vol. 114, No. 5 (May, 1949), "America Revises the Prayer Book," pp. 7-9.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

The second paper in this category was one of a group of papers on the Prayer Book which appeared in *The Living Church*, a whole issue of which on the date of issue nearest Pentecost was devoted to the four hundredth anniversary. Jones' paper gave the story of "What Happened in 1549," the title of the article.³⁴

The more he studied the Prayer Book and its antecedents, the deeper he went into his studies of the history of worship, the longer he taught liturgics, the longer he worked with the Liturgical Commission and the more he criticized certain features of the Prayer Book, the greater was his respect for it as it is, and the firmer did his loyalty to it become. In an article entitled "Where is the 'Old-fashioned Prayer Book Churchman'?" Jones discussed the matter of loyalty to the Prayer Book, some of the reasons for current disregard of rubric and text, and the hope that any future revision might produce a Book which will revive "the vanishing race of 'Prayer Book Churchman' as the norm of loyalty and effectiveness which it has been."³⁵

It might fairly be said that Dr. Jones was himself one of the "old-fashioned Prayer Book Churchmen," even while he worked long and arduously for considerable change in the content of the Book. Quick to speak his mind on points at which he thought change could and should be made, he was nevertheless emphatic in his teaching that individuals have no right to tamper with the text of the offices. "Wear what vestments you choose, use what ceremony you can sensibly employ—but adhere strictly, rigidly, to the text of the Prayer Book!" Words such as these have been heard again and again by a whole generation of students, who from their mentor acquired not only a respect but also a love for the American Prayer Book.

As teacher, he tried diligently to minister to the various points of view represented in the student body, and to make the several "party men" to be found in any student group understand the positions of others. He tried also to develop what might be called a "norm" of liturgical practice based on a clear understanding and appreciation of alternatives and solidly grounded in the Prayer Book.³⁶ He was quickly irritated by liturgical oddities and by liturgical experiment for its own sake. For liturgical sentimentality and antiquarianism, he had no use at all. And woe betide the man, student or established scholar, who be-

³⁴ Vol. CXVIII, No. 23 (June 5, 1949), pp. 16ff. Other contributors were Bishop Mason of Dallas, Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., Carroll E. Simcox, William H. Dunphy, Samuel J. Martin, George J. Cleveland.

³⁵ *Advance*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (January, 1951), p. 3.

³⁶ Jones produced for use in St. Luke's Chapel, Sewanee, a "Norm of a Plain Celebration" which was widely circulated by the students.

came, as he put it, "ill with Roman fever."³⁷ Jones was Anglican to the very core of his being.

This is not to say that Jones was anti-Roman just for the sake of being so. He was a close student of the Roman liturgy, and able to quote it from beginning to end in the Latin. He was remarkably learned in the "Sacramentaries" and "Consuetudinaries," which contain the rich and complex story of the development of the great "Western Rite." In 1948, he wrote to a friend who was working with him on the "Eucharistic Lectionary":

"I took the Roman Missal, and analyzed it to a fare-ye-well. I doubt if that has ever been done . . . I emerged, as you know, with a really enormously diminished respect for the Missal as a whole; but also with a considerable trove of particular lections of undoubted value, which ought to be worked into our scheme somewhere. . . .

"In general, I consider it is up to us when we do *not* use a Roman assignment, to show why."

Again, in a letter answering an inquiry "as to the exact sense of the word *hostia*," he wrote in 1950:

"My mind immediately flashed back to the time some thirty-odd years ago, when I first assayed to make a translation of the Latin Canon into something like our 'Prayer Book' English. . . . I rejected the rendering 'victim' as altogether inconsistent with the context; and *also* as a needless cause of offense to any Anglican who might like to see what the Roman Mass has to say for itself. . . ."³⁸

Nor was Dr. Jones anti-Protestant for the sake of being so. There appears many times in his writings and correspondence the statement that certain *facts* made the Reformation necessary. He felt that some expressions of that necessary reform were unfortunate, and that the Anglican Communion has by God's grace real riches to offer to the Protestant wing of Christianity. In 1942, when the effort for reunion with the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., was gaining momentum, Jones wrote to a close friend and leader in that movement:

" . . . No Presbyterian could reject more emphatically than I the doctrine that the Sacrament is consecrated by a formula. I sympathize with the Presbyterian desire to make that point perfectly clear by taking the narrative of the Institution outside the Consecration Prayer entirely, while retaining it in the service in a little pref-

³⁷ *The Living Church*, Vol. CXX, No. 8 (February 19, 1950), "The Prayer Book and the Priesthood," pp. 11-13.

³⁸ The letter referred to here is of such nature and in such form as to be a possibility for future publication.

atory lesson like that in Confirmation, to declare and clarify its meaning. . .

" . . . But the one thing you are trying to do, and rightly, is . . . to get together on a basis of mutually acknowledged *facts*. And the plain fact in this case is that all historic and unquestioned Christian Liturgies do actually *contain* the narrative of the Institution *within* the Consecration Prayer. The Presbyterians are historically wrong when they elected to do something else. . .

"I should pronounce the Presbyterian Liturgy, which recites the narrative of Institution *outside* the Consecration Prayer, as being probably invalid; as I should pronounce the Lutheran Liturgy, which recites the Institution as a formula, *without any Prayer whatever, as certainly invalid*.

"When I say invalid . . . I mean of course *insufficient*; by no means and never *inefficient* . . . If any Catholic denies the reality of their Sacramental experience, they of course (the Lutherans and the Presbyterians) have the evidence of their own religious experience to prove the contrary; and they show their actual Christianity by pitying our bad manners and intemperate judgment, instead of calling us liars and fools, as they certainly would be entitled to do.

"Nevertheless, any Liturgy, or any Ministry, is *insufficient* if it fails to meet the test of facts. There are objective, historical, and ecumenical Facts as to just what is a Christian Liturgy, or a Christian Ministry."

At the height of his activity as teacher, student, writer and commission member, another crisis developed in the School of Theology which left Dr. Jones the only member of the faculty "on the Mountain." Once again his own work was interrupted as he labored with the vice-chancellor, Dr. Edward McCrady, and the Rt. Rev. Edmund P. Dandridge, who came from retirement to serve as acting dean, in the effort to keep the school alive. There is no doubt that this trouble in the School of Theology, placing greater responsibility on him as it did, played some part in the illness from which he never fully recovered.

It had been his hope to retire from teaching a year earlier than necessary, and to concentrate on three or four studies which he intended to offer for publication. His files contained one manuscript complete except for last minute revisions, half a dozen papers which he obviously intended to revise and expand into pamphlets or short books, and a huge amount of exceedingly technical material on the Church Kalendar.

An illness, which struck him down in the summer of 1954, almost took his life; yet he was on his feet in the classroom, and hard at work on the Christian Year Kalendar, in the spring of 1955. On March 27,

1955, Jones wrote to Mr. Clifford Morehouse, with whom he had been in correspondence about the *Kalendar*:

"Sorry indeed to bother you with such a lick-and-a-promise draft. Still, any of my doctors would tell you you were reasonably lucky to get any work at all out of me, after I had been so sick. There were two months last year, during which I was not strictly unconscious . . . but did not know whether it was night or day. . . ."

After a period of partial recovery in 1955, he was again seriously stricken, but managed to make his influence strongly felt in the affairs of the School of Theology, which was in the process of selecting a new dean. When the dean was elected—on his nomination, incidentally—Jones valiantly and graciously postponed his plan for early retirement in order to give the new man time to prepare for his duties and to become established in his work.

With the full realization that he did not have the strength to carry the customary load of teaching, he quietly and patiently shared his notes, his library, his failing strength and his class time with those appointed to assist in the conduct of his courses. Often he sat good-naturedly at the back of the classroom while a youngster lectured haltingly on a theme and an outline of it gleaned from Jones' own notes, perhaps just a day or two before. Only those who knew him well can imagine what an act of self-discipline this could be for a man of his explosive temperament, vast knowledge of the subject at hand, and passion for precise thought and the careful expression of it.

Among the last uses of his strength was the reading of Optime Merens papers for undergraduate students and S.T.M. theses for graduates. The night before his death, he made quite an excellent speech to members of the senior class, urging on them the consideration of a practical program of insurance for the protection of their families.

Death found him early on the morning of April 27, 1957, as he sat in his study chair, surrounded by his books, at work on a project for the Liturgical Commission. His part in that work, almost done, was completed by other members of the commission and was subsumed in *Prayer Book Studies*, No. IX: "The Calendar," and No. XII: "Propers for the Minor Holy Days." The last of this pair of studies was dedicated to him, and his work on first drafts of No. X was specifically acknowledged by the commission.

The University of the South, acknowledging Dr. Jones' long service as teacher, his pre-eminence as liturgical scholar, and the value of his services to the Church, has created in his memory the Bayard Hale

Jones Chair of Liturgics, in the hope that his work in this increasingly important field of study will be continued.

Words from the minute of the Liturgical Commission with regard to him seem to provide a fitting conclusion to this effort to describe all too briefly the man and his work.

"... At the time of his death, he left the Commission with extensive materials in hand for other projected studies, especially an able and exhaustive draft on the propers for the minor Holy Days.

"Dr. Jones' learning was matched by an unusual power of expression both in his speech and his writing—lucid, well-organized, trenchant and vivacious. He knew how to give clarity and life to complicated and technical subject matter. In his approach to liturgical questions, he was never doctrinaire, nor partisan, and though he had strong convictions, based upon his extensive knowledge of facts, he was always reasonable, open-minded and fair in discussion, afraid neither of altering his views, nor of admitting his persuasion when convinced by the arguments of others. ... He had little patience with obstructionist tactics or captious judgments; but his generous nature and keen sense of humor often cleared the atmosphere of tense situations. In all that he did for the Commission, Dr. Jones kept ever in mind the needs of the whole Church. ... Above everything else, he never sought advantage for himself, much less advantage for any party of partisan group, but worked only for the good of the Church in all its wholeness and fullness of truth."

Appendix

PUBLISHED WORKS OF BAYARD HALE JONES

The Pacific Churchman:

- "Reconstruction, Reaction and Religion," Vol. 55, No. 3 (October, 1919), pp. 9-10.
- "Modern Fundamentals," Vol. 59, No. 9 (April, 1924), pp. 10-11.
- "At the Quarter Post," Vol. 61, No. 9 (April, 1926), pp. 12-13.
- "The Dilemma of Reunion," Vol. 62, No. 12 (July, 1927), pp. 15-16.
- "Defending and Extending the Faith," Vol. 65, No. 8 (March, 1929), pp. 12-13.

The Anglican Theological Review:

- "Liturgical Discoveries of the Twentieth Century," Vol. XX, No. 4 (October, 1938), pp. 258-275.
- "The Nature of the Church," Vol. XXI, No. 4 (October, 1939), pp. 293-312.
- "Marriage and Divorce," Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (January, 1942), pp. 38-62.

The Living Church:

- "The Gospel of Our Church," Vol. LXXX, No. 10, pp. 339f.
- "A New Approach to Prayer Book Revision," Vol. CXII, No. 24 (June 16, 1946), pp. 8-10.
- "What Happened in 1549," Vol. CXVIII, No. 23 (June 5, 1949), pp. 16-17.
- "The Prayer Book and the Priesthood," Vol. CXX, No. 8 (February 19, 1950), pp. 11-13.
- "Shakespeare Was an Anglo-Catholic," Vol. CXXII, No. 6 (February 15, 1953), pp. 18-19.

The Witness:

- "The Bible in the Prayer Book," Vol. XXV, No. 4 (January 29, 1942), pp. 8-10.
- "Bishop Parsons' Liturgical Work," Vol. 28, No. 5 (July 12, 1945), pp. 8-10.

The Southern Churchman:

- Six feature articles under the heading, "Prayer Book Backgrounds," Vol. 107, Nos. 6, 14, 20, 28, 37, 45.
- "The Trial Lectionary," Vol. 108, Nos. 15, 16.

The Churchman:

"Creating the Trial Lectionary," Vol. CLVI, No. 8 (April 15, 1942), pp. 10-12.

Forth:

"America Revises the Prayer Book," Vol. 114, No. 5 (May, 1949), pp. 7-9.

Advance—Magazine of the Diocese of Chicago:

"Clergy Study Prayer Book Changes," Vol. 64, No. 3 (March, 1951), p. 3.

"Where is the 'Old-fashioned Prayer Book Churchman'?" Vol. 64, No. 1 (January, 1951), pp. 31f.

The American Prayer Book. By E. L. Parsons and B. H. Jones. (N. Y., Scribner's, 1937).

The American Lectionary. By B. H. Jones (N. Y., Morehouse-Gorham, 1944). Reprinted, 1957.

George Washington and the Methodists

By Paul F. Boller, Jr.*



ON APRIL 30, 1789, George Washington took his oath of office as first President of the United States on a balcony of Federal Hall overlooking Wall Street in New York City. On May 28, the Methodists opened their annual conference in the John Street Church (founded, in 1768, as the first Methodist meeting-house in America¹) not far from where the first Congress of the United States was holding its sessions. Less than twenty people attended the conference, but among them were such "men of the most eminent ability" as Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury, Freeborn Garrettson, Thomas Morrell, John Dickins, and Jesse Lee.² On the second day of the conference,³ Asbury proposed that the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States

"present a congratulatory address to General Washington . . . , in which should be embodied our approbation of the Constitution, and professing our allegiance to the government."⁴

The idea of sending greetings to Washington probably originated with Asbury, although it has been suggested that Asbury's friend, Richard Bassett, Senator from Delaware in the first Congress and sole Methodist member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, may have first planted the idea in Asbury's mind.⁵ In any case, Asbury and his Methodist colleagues were still concerned about the suspicions of disloyalty that had attached to American Methodists during the American Revolution because of their British connections and because of John Wesley's hostility to the American cause.⁶ They were anxious, there-

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¹ J. B. Wakeley, *Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early History of American Methodism* (New York, 1889), chapters 6-8.

² "The Session of the New York Conference of 1789: Its Doings and Their Results," *Methodist Quarterly Review*, Vol. 39 (April, 1857), 202.

³ *Ibid.*, 205.

⁴ Rev. Thomas Morrell to Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, Elizabethtown, New Jersey, August 26, 1827, in Nathan Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (2 vols., New York, 1839), vol. 1, 280-283.

⁵ *Methodist Quarterly Review*, vol. 39, 208-209.

⁶ Bangs, *History of Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. 1, 287-288; Samuel Drew, *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke* (New York, 1818), 102-104; Cyril J. Davey, *The Man Who Wanted the World: the Story of Thomas Coke* (London, 1947), 72.

fore, to profess their loyalty to the new nation, "clearly and openly," as one writer puts it; and the occasion of Washington's accession to office seemed appropriate for that purpose.⁷

The Methodist Episcopal Church was less than five years old when it resolved to send congratulations to Washington. Its status in the United States was rather unusual in that, although it had its own organization, somewhat different from that of English Methodists, it still looked to John Wesley as its spiritual guide and acknowledged Thomas Coke, a British citizen, as one of its bishops. John Wesley had played an important part in shaping the structure of the American Church, but American Methodists, while accepting much of his advice, had also struck out on independent lines of their own. The result was a kind of uneasy compromise between the Americans and Wesley, which non-Methodists may find somewhat difficult to grasp. Some knowledge of the position of the Methodist Church in the United States at this time is, however, essential, if we are to understand the significance of the Methodist address to Washington in 1789 and the controversy to which it gave rise.

Methodism was introduced into America by lay preachers from Ireland in 1766, and it developed rapidly during the next decade under the guidance of English missionaries sent over by John Wesley. As in England, it was an evangelical movement within the Church of England, and it was to the Anglican Church in the colonies that American Methodists looked for reception of the sacraments. Upon the outbreak of the American Revolution, all of Wesley's missionaries, except Francis Asbury, returned to England. Asbury decided to cast his lot with the United States, and by the end of the war he had emerged as the leader of the Methodist movement in this country.⁸ During the war, American Methodists were suspected by patriots of being pro-British. Though many, perhaps most, supported the American cause, their affiliation with Wesley, who loudly proclaimed his opposition to the Revolution in pamphlets and in sermons, led them to be branded as unpatriotic. Some of their preachers were whipped, beaten, tarred and feathered, and jailed.⁹

When peace came and United States independence was recognized in 1783, it was clear that American Methodism, numbering about 15,000

⁷ Davey, *The Man Who Wanted the World*, 72.

⁸ William Warren Sweet, *Methodism in American History* (New York, 1933), 47-99.

⁹ William Warren Sweet, *Religion in the Development of American Culture* (New York, 1952), 26-32.

members, would have to undergo some kind of reorganization. None of its preachers, including Asbury, was ordained; and the Anglican Church, in a weakened condition as a result of disestablishment and the exodus of so many of its loyalist clergymen to England, could no longer be depended upon for the sacraments.¹⁰ In March, 1784, Asbury wrote Wesley imploring him to send ordained preachers to the United States.¹¹ Wesley, for his part, was anxious to reassert his control over the American movement after the war; he realized, however, that with American separation from Great Britain, it would be impossible to continue the kind of relationship that had existed between American Methodism and the Church of England before the war.¹²

After considerable reflection, Wesley concluded that bishops and presbyters (he was a presbyter) constituted one order in the Church of England and that both could ordain ministers, and he accordingly decided to ordain men himself for carrying on his work in the United States. In September, 1784, therefore, he ordained Dr. Thomas Coke, a clergyman in the Church of England and one of his most trusted assistants, as "superintendent" of the American Methodist societies, and sent him, along with two "elders" whom he also ordained, to the United States with instructions to ordain Francis Asbury also as a superintendent.¹³ In this way, he hoped to retain his authority over American Methodists while providing them, through Coke and Asbury, with the means of ordaining their own preachers. His brother Charles strongly protested this action, insisting that "ordination is separation,"¹⁴ but to the end of his life John Wesley stoutly denied that he had separated from the Church of England.¹⁵

On his arrival in the United States, Coke found the American Methodists, led by Asbury, unwilling to subject themselves so completely to Wesley's control. They insisted on calling a conference to discuss Wesley's proposals, and to decide on them by majority vote. Coke yielded and a conference of Methodist preachers was held in Baltimore late in December, 1784. It was this "Christmas" conference which organized the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, elected Coke and

¹⁰ William Warren Sweet, *Men of Zeal, the Romance of American Methodist Beginnings* (New York, 1935), 150-152.

¹¹ *The Arminian Magazine* (London), vol. 9 (1786), 680-682.

¹² John Alfred Faulkner, *Burning Questions in Historic Christianity* (New York, 1930), 207-232.

¹³ Edward Frank Humphrey, *Nationalism and Religion in America, 1774-1789* (Boston, 1924), 167-185.

¹⁴ Thomas Jackson, *The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley* (2 vols., London, 1841), vol. 2, 389-392.

¹⁵ Humphrey Lee, *The Lord's Horseman* (New York, 1928), 254-257.

Asbury (who was then ordained by Coke) as joint superintendents, and adopted, with modifications, the Articles of Religion, Book of Discipline, and liturgy proposed by Wesley.¹⁶ The conference also proclaimed its loyalty to Wesley and its readiness "in matters belonging to Church government to obey his commands."¹⁷

Two and a half years later, however, the Americans asserted further their independence from Wesley. In a conference at Baltimore in May, 1787, they rejected two of Wesley's appointments, forced Coke to promise not to exercise his superintending powers while absent from the United States, and voted to drop Wesley's name from the American Minutes.¹⁸ In the revised *Discipline* prepared in 1787 and in the *Minutes* for 1788, the Americans also, much to Wesley's dismay, substituted the title of bishop for that of superintendent.¹⁹

"How can you, how dare you suffer yourself to be called a Bishop?" Wesley wrote Asbury. "I shudder, I start at the very thought! Men may call me knave or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never by my consent call me a Bishop! For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake put a full end to this!"²⁰

As a gesture of good will, the Americans, in 1789, "grieved that the good old man was hurt," according to Thomas Morrell, restored Wesley's name to the *Minutes*, but "in a manner as to preclude him from exercising an unconstitutional power over us."²¹

At the New York conference where Asbury proposed sending greetings to President Washington, however, Coke and Asbury were still being referred to as bishops. The Methodist episcopate was apparently here to stay, and Wesley does not seem to have protested further. Nevertheless, the peculiarities of the Methodist situation in the United States—with two bishops, one of whom was British, and with a spiritual leader who was simply a presbyter in the Church of England and denied that he had either created bishops or taken his movement out of the Anglican Church—were brought prominently to the public attention by the conference's action in sending an address to Washington. To Methodist historians, the relationship which the New York conference established with Washington in 1789 has always seemed of the greatest interest. And it surely was, though not entirely for the reasons which

¹⁶ Sweet, *Men of Zeal*, 165-178, and Humphrey, *Nationalism and Religion*, 185-193, summarize the work of the "Christmas" conference.

¹⁷ John J. Tigert, *Constitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism* (Nashville, Tennessee, 1904), 228.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 225-239.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 239-241.

²⁰ *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley* (London, 1841), vol. 13, 71.

²¹ Quoted in Tigert, *Constitutional History*, 234.

they give. Methodist writers usually stress the fact that the Methodists were the first religious group in the United States to send formal greetings to Washington, and it will be worth exploring this claim. But the Methodist address is interesting, further, because of the criticisms of the Methodist Church which it touched off at the time, and because of the way it became entangled in the struggle for democratizing the Methodist Episcopal Church many years later.

It all began simply enough. The conference unanimously approved and "warmly recommended" Asbury's proposal on the day he made it, and requested Bishops Coke and Asbury to draft an address to the President. The address was quickly prepared, read to the conference, and approved with "great satisfaction."²² In its final form, it was signed by Bishops Coke and Asbury, on behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and bore the date of its acceptance by the conference—May 29, 1789. The conference decided that the two bishops should deliver the message in person, and that Asbury should read it aloud to the President. Coke was regarded as "senior bishop" and might well have been expected to do the reading, but the inappropriateness of having an English bishop perform that function when there was an American bishop available seems to have dawned on the conference members.²³

John Dickins, minister of the John Street Church, and Thomas Morrell, formerly an officer in the Continental Army, who claimed to have "some personal acquaintance" with Washington, were appointed to a committee to make arrangements with the President for reception of the address. Dickins and Morrell "waited on the general," according to Morrell, left a copy of the address with him so that he might prepare a reply to it, and Washington set aside twelve o'clock on the "fourth succeeding day" for the occasion.²⁴

Since there is no record of the precise day on which Dickins and Morrell made these arrangements, there is no way of knowing exactly when the formal meeting of Washington and the bishops took place. The Methodist *Minutes* for 1789 make no reference to the meeting; nor is there any mention of it in Washington's *Diaries*. The Methodist address, dated May 29, 1789, appears in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*, but the copy of Washington's reply which accompanies it is undated. John C. Fitzpatrick assumed that the address was presented to Washington on May 29, and that Washington replied, "presumably,

²² Morrell to Cooper, in Bangs, *History of Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. 1, 280-283.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

the same day," but this, of course, overlooks what Morrell says about "the fourth succeeding day."²⁵

Jared Sparks vaguely assigned the date of May, 1789, to Washington's reply, but this is surely also a mistake.²⁶ For even if Dickins and Morrell saw Washington on May 29, the day the address was drafted and approved by the conference, and we cannot be sure that all of these things were accomplished in one day, the "fourth succeeding day" would fall on June 2. Newspaper reports of the event are of no help; they date the address correctly, but assign no date to Washington's reply. All that we can say, then, on the basis of existing records, is that the formal exchange with Washington took place early in June, 1789.²⁷

Thomas Morrell, writing many years after the event, is our only contemporary source for the ceremonial exchange itself. According to Morrell, Bishops Coke and Asbury, accompanied by John Dickins and himself, met with the President at the appointed time, and Asbury read the address "with great self-possession" and "in an impressive manner."²⁸

We, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, humbly beg leave, in the name of our Society collectively in these United States, to express to you the warm feeling of our hearts, and our sincere congratulations on your appointment to the Presidentship of these States. We are conscious, from the signal proofs you have already given, that you are a friend to mankind; and, under this established idea, place as full confidence in your wisdom and integrity for the preservation of those civil and religious liberties which have been transmitted to us by the providence of God and the glorious Revolution, as we believe ought to be reposed in man. We have received the most grateful satisfaction from the humble and entire dependence on the great Governor of the universe which you have repeatedly expressed, acknowledging Him the source of every blessing and particularly of the most excellent Constitution of these States, which is at present the admiration of the world, and may in future become its great exemplar for imitation; and hence we enjoy a holy expectation, that you will always prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion, the grand end of our creation and present probationary existence. And we promise

²⁵ John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (39 vols., Washington, D. C., 1931-1944), vol. 30, 339n.

²⁶ Jared Sparks, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (12 vols., Boston, 1837), vol. 12, 153.

²⁷ John Fletcher Hurst said that the meeting occurred on June 2 or 3, but admitted that "the precise date is in debate." (John Fletcher Hurst, *The History of Methodism*, 7 vols., New York, 1902-1904, vol. 4, 349). Frank Gibson Porter stated flatly that it took place on June 2 (Frank Gibson Porter, "Washington as Bishop Asbury Saw Him; The View of a Contemporary," *Methodist Review*, vol. 113 [July, 1930], 517).

²⁸ Morrell to Cooper, in Bangs, *History of Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. 1, 280-283.

you our fervent prayers to the throne of grace, that God Almighty may endue you with all the graces and gifts of His Holy Spirit, that He may enable you to fill up your important station to His glory, the good of His church, the happiness and prosperity of the United States, and the welfare of mankind.²⁹

Washington then read his answer "with fluency and animation":³⁰ Gentlemen, I return to you individually, and, through you, to your society collectively in the United States, my thanks for the demonstrations of affection and the expressions of joy, offered in their behalf, on my late appointment. It shall still be my endeavour to manifest, by overt acts, the purity of my inclinations for promoting the happiness of mankind, as well as the sincerity of my desires to contribute whatever may be in my power towards the preservation of the civil and religious liberties of the American people. In pursuing this line of conduct, I hope, by the assistance of Divine Providence, not altogether to disappoint the confidence, which you have been pleased to repose in me.

It always affords me satisfaction, when I find a concurrence in sentiment and practice between all conscientious men in acknowledgments of homage to the great Governor of the Universe, and in professions of support to a just civil government. After mentioning, that I trust the people of every denomination, who demean themselves as good citizens, will have occasion to be convinced, that I shall always strive to prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine vital religion, I must assure you in particular, that I take in the kindest part the promise you make of presenting your prayers at the throne of grace for me, and that I likewise implore the divine benediction on yourselves and your religious community.³¹

Washington's reply, it is clear, like most of his responses to formal greetings when he was President, was largely a repetition of the ideas and even phrases contained in the Methodist statement. It is interesting to note, however, that in addition to restating the points set forth by the bishops, Washington also expressed his satisfaction at the "professions of support to a just civil government" made by the Methodists, and announced his good will toward "people of every denomination, who demean themselves as good citizens." Whether Washington was aware of the predicament of American Methodists during the Revolution and their concern about "getting right" with the new government and wished to reassure them in his reply, we cannot say. Methodist writers have frequently assumed this to be the case.³² On the other hand, keenly aware,

²⁹ *Methodist Quarterly Review*, vol. 39, 206-207.

³⁰ Morrell to Cooper, in Bangs, *History of Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. 1, 280-283.

³¹ Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. 12, 153-154.

³² Samuel Drew said that "the final destiny of Methodism in America seemed to rest on this address," and that "its public effects may be inferred from the

as he was, of the tremendous tasks that lay ahead in making the new venture in republican government succeed, Washington may simply have taken this opportunity to welcome wholehearted support of the new government by the various religious groups in the country. At the conclusion of his remarks, the parties, according to Morrell, "then interchanged their respective addresses; and after sitting a few minutes," the bishops, with the committee, departed.³³

Neither Coke nor Asbury refers to the meeting with Washington in their journals. "It is doubtful, indeed," comments the editor of Asbury's *Journal*, "if either he or Bishop Coke realized its full significance."³⁴ Methodist historians and biographers, however, have always "realized its full significance," and they have attached great importance to the exchange of felicitations with Washington. Methodists, William Warren Sweet points out, "pride themselves upon the fact that they were the first religious denomination to present such an address promising support of the head of the new civil government."³⁵ According to Methodist writers, the address to Washington was "the first document of any kind presented by any religious body in the United States" to Washington;³⁶ it gave the Methodists the honor of being "the first religious body . . . to pay homage to the first president,"³⁷ the first to "recognize publicly the new government,"³⁸ and the first to promise the "organic law" of the new nation.³⁹

Washington's reply has also been considered significant for American Methodism, for, in it, the "independent organization" of the Methodist Church was "recognized by the highest authority in the Union."⁴⁰ In its friendly exchange with the first President, the Methodists, it is said, "set a fine example for other denominations."⁴¹ For, according to one writer, "some of the ministers and members of other churches ap-

peace, the protection, the prosperity, which, from that moment to the present, the Methodist churches have continued to enjoy, under the government thus addressed in the person of the President." (Drew, *Life of Coke*, 105-106).

³³ Morrell to Cooper, in Bangs, *History of Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. 1, 280-283.

³⁴ Ezra Squier Tipple, ed., *The Heart of Asbury's Journal* (New York, 1904), 278.

³⁵ Sweet, *Methodism in American History*, 121.

³⁶ W. L. Duren, *Francis Asbury: Founder of American Methodism and Unofficial Minister of State* (New York, 1928), 197.

³⁷ Paul N. Garber, *The Romance of American Methodism* (Greensboro, North Carolina, 1931), 28.

³⁸ Abel Stevens, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (3 vols., New York, 1864), vol. 3, 144.

³⁹ Garber, *Romance of American Methodism*, 28.

⁴⁰ W. P. Strickland, *The Pioneer Bishop: or, the Life and Times of Francis Asbury* (New York, 1858), 235.

⁴¹ J. B. Wakeley, *Lost Chapters*, 336.

peared dissatisfied that the Methodists should take the lead, and the other denominations successively followed the example."⁴² With the other churches, another writer declares, "it was an afterthought to present similar addresses"; nevertheless, he adds generously, "it was none the less right and appropriate, and deserving of commendation on that account."⁴³

It is certainly true that the Methodist exchange with Washington attracted a fair amount of attention when it was reported in the New York press. It is also possible that the Methodist action, because of the publicity it received, played some part in stimulating other religious groups to have similar exchanges with Washington.

During the next few months, seven other denominations—the German Reformed (June 11), the United Brethren (July 10), the Episcopalians (August 7), the Baptists (August 8), the Quakers (September 28), the Dutch Reformed (October 9), and the Congregationalists (October 17)—sent congratulatory messages to Washington and received cordial responses.⁴⁴

The following year (1790), the Catholics (March 15), Universalists (August), and several Hebrew congregations (May, August 17 and December 13) sent their greetings to Washington and received their replies;⁴⁵ and, finally, on January 27, 1793, the Swedenborgians, somewhat belatedly, but no less enthusiastically, had their exchange of cordialities with the President.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, Methodist writers are mistaken about priority. A careful examination of the record reveals that the Methodist address to Washington was not, in fact, the "first document" of its kind. Four other religious groups—the Dutch Reformed, the German Reformed, the Lutherans, and the Presbyterians—exchanged letters with Washington before the Methodists did.

The Dutch Reformed churches seem to have been the first religious group to have any kind of formal exchange of this nature with Washington. On no less than five occasions before he became President, Washington received formal greetings from various Dutch Reformed churches; this was before any other religious body had conceived the idea of sending him an official communication. As early as June, 1779, in what appears to be the first action of its kind, the ministers, elders, and deacons

⁴² James M. Buckley, *A History of Methodism in the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1897), vol. 1, 319.

⁴³ Strickland, *Pioneer Bishop*, 235.

⁴⁴ Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, vol. 30, 347n., 355n., 383n., 321n., 416n., 432n., 453n.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 31, 22n., 73n., 42n., 93n., 185-186.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 32, 314-315.

of the Dutch Reformed Church in Raritan, New Jersey, sent a complimentary message to Washington, when his headquarters were at Middlebrook, nearby, and received a letter of thanks.⁴⁷ Three years later, when Washington was making a short tour of towns near his headquarters at Newburgh, New York, he also exchanged formal greetings with the Dutch Reformed churches in Albany (June 28, 1782)⁴⁸ and Schenectady (June 30).⁴⁹ Later the same year, while visiting Kingston, New York, he had a friendly exchange with the Dutch church in that town (November 15).⁵⁰ The following year, he exchanged greetings with the Dutch Reformed churches of Hackensack and Schalenburg, New Jersey (November 10, 1783).⁵¹

The second denomination to deliver an address to Washington was the German Reformed Church. On November 27, 1783, the ministers, elders, deacons, and members of the German Reformed congregation of New York City congratulated Washington on the occasion of the British evacuation of the city. Washington returned his "warmest acknowledgements" and informed them that "the establishment of Civil and Religious Liberty" had been his primary motive during the war.⁵²

These Dutch and German Reformed exchanges with Washington, of course, involved only local churches; and the formal exchanges with the national organizations of the German Reformed (June 11, 1789)⁵³ and Dutch Reformed (October 9, 1789)⁵⁴ Churches did not take place until after the Methodist exchange. Still, the Dutch and German Reformed Churches can claim priority of some kind; and in the case of the former, a considerable amount of it!

If, however, by "first document" of its kind, Methodist writers refer to a denominational letter congratulating Washington on his election to the Presidency, then the Lutherans, rather than the Methodists, take the honors. While he was on his way from Mount Vernon to New York City for his inauguration, Washington stopped briefly in Philadelphia. While he was there (April 20, 1789), he received a formal communication from the ministers, churchwardens, and vestrymen of the German Lutheran Congregation in and near Philadelphia congratulating him on his "appointment" to the Presidency.⁵⁵ In his reply, Washington ex-

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 15, 210.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 24, 389-390.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 24, 390-391.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 25, 346-347.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 27, 239-240.

⁵² *Ibid.*, vol. 27, 249-250.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, vol. 30, 347n.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 30, 432n.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 30, 289n.

pressed his pleasure at receiving the "approbation" of "so worthy a body of citizens."⁵⁶ The Lutheran address and Washington's reply appeared in the *New-York Daily Gazette* on May 18 and the *New-York Packet* on May 19. This was ten days before the Methodists assembled for conference in New York, and it is quite possible that they were unaware of the event. Even Morrell, who was stationed in New York, does not seem to have known about it.

Still, the Lutheran address came before Washington's inauguration. Were not the Methodists, then, after all, the first religious body to congratulate Washington on the inauguration itself? Unfortunately for the claims of Methodist historians, the Methodists were anticipated by the Presbyterians by three days even on this occasion. On May 26, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, meeting in Philadelphia, sent congratulations to Washington upon his inauguration, to which Washington replied, as one Presbyterian writer puts it, with "great modesty and courtesy."⁵⁷ The composition of the committee which drafted the address—John Witherspoon, Patrick Allison, and Samuel Stanhope Smith—"shows the importance," remarks one Presbyterian historian, "which was attached to the proceeding." The Presbyterian address, he adds, "is worthy to stand as a precedent of appropriate address from a Christian assembly to a Christian ruler. . . ."⁵⁸

It would be difficult, however, to tell from reports of the Presbyterian and Methodist addresses that appeared in New York newspapers which of the two was considered to "stand as a precedent" at the time. The *Gazette of the United States* reprinted both addresses without comment in its issue for June 3-6, but the *New-York Daily Advertiser*, probably because it was local news, reported the Methodist address before it did the Presbyterian address,⁵⁹ and the *New-York Museum*, which reported on the Methodists,⁶⁰ never did carry an account of the Presbyterian action. The *New-York Journal and Weekly Register*, on the other hand, noticed only the Presbyterians.⁶¹ Both the *New-York Gazette* and the *New-York Packet* reported on the Presbyterians first,⁶² but when they came to report the Methodist action they included it in a story

⁵⁶ Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. 12, 147-148.

⁵⁷ Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, vol. 30, 336n.; Robert P. Kerr, *The People's History of Presbyterianism in All Ages* (Richmond, Virginia, 1888), 179.

⁵⁸ E. H. Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1864), vol. 1, 270-271.

⁵⁹ June 3; June 8.

⁶⁰ June 6.

⁶¹ June 11.

⁶² June 8; June 9.

about the recent growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church which ended with this comment:

From the respectful and affectionate address of the Bishops of this new and growing church, to the President of the United States . . . , it appears, that the whole society are warmly attached to the Constitution and government of the United States.⁶³

This was, of course, exactly what Asbury and his co-workers had wanted to demonstrate to the country.

At least one person, however, was not completely convinced, and he wrote the *Daily Advertiser* voicing his doubts. His letter, which appeared in the *Advertiser* on June 17, was signed simply "An Enquirer," and it expressed the wish that "some well informed and patriotic" Methodist would explain precisely who the Thomas Coke was who had signed his name, as a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, to the recent address to President Washington. Was he, the Enquirer wanted to know,

the same man that was known in England, by the name of *Doctor Coke*, and particularly, during the war, by the name of *little Dr. Coke*, and who was connected with, and was an assistant to Mr. *John Wesley*, both in the pulpit, pen, and press, when he preached and wrote most vehemently against the *Rebels*, as they then thought proper to term us? . . . If the same *little Doctor Coke* I refer to, has translated himself from Mr. *Wesley's societies* in England, to the *Bishopric* of the Methodist Episcopal church in America, he ought to give us full proof of his *political conversion*. *Doctor Coke* in England taught the highest *Tory doctrines*. . . . He supported Mr. *John Wesley* in all that he chose to advance in support of *Lord North's* administration. . . . If *Bishop Coke*, is this same *Doctor Coke*, no American, but a *British* subject, uniformly opposed to us, in principle and conduct thro' the whole of the war, is it not the extreme of *hypocrisy* for such a man to take the lead of the *Episcopalians* in an address to the *President* of our republican government?

Bishop Coke had sailed for England shortly after the New York conference.⁶⁴ Thomas Morrell, therefore, assumed the task of explaining things to the Enquirer.⁶⁵ His letter, signed "A Member of the Methodist Episcopal Church," appeared in the *Advertiser* on the 19th. It was a long

⁶³ June 24; June 25.

⁶⁴ Tipple, *Heart of Asbury's Journal*, 282.

⁶⁵ "As there was no other person in New-York at that time, in our connection, who could meet these charges, and satisfactorily answer these queries, I undertook the task, and in my weak manner endeavored to rebut the charges and answer the questions." Morrell to Cooper, in Bangs, *History of Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. 1, 280-283.

letter and remarkable chiefly for its failure to answer the Enquirer's main question: how was it possible for a British citizen to be the bishop of an American church and to sign an address to President Washington promising to support the United States government? Morrell disclaimed any knowledge of Coke's attitude during the Revolutionary War, although, forgetting John Wesley's sermons on the subject, he expressed doubts that Coke had preached against the American cause, "because it was not a proper subject for a pulpit." He then produced four pieces of evidence to demonstrate Coke's friendliness to the United States since the war:

1. Article 23 of the Methodist Articles of Religion ("Of Rulers of the United States") recognizing the government of the United States and stating that it "ought not to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction"; which article, Morrell pointed out, was "drawn up and subscribed to by the members of our conference, held at Baltimore, in December 1784, where Dr. Coke and Bishop Asbury presided, was presented to the conference by Dr. Coke, with other matters of importance then laid before them."

2. The Methodist form of prayer for the United States, "which the Dr. produced to the conference and assisted in composing, wherein we implore the blessings of heaven on this country and its rulers, 'that they might vanquish and overcome all their enemies.' . . ."

3. Sermons which Dr. Coke preached in New York City, "particularly one on the commencement of the Millennial Year, wherein he asserted the goodness of God was conspicuously discoverable in separating this country from Great Britain."

4. The fact that Dr. Coke, "in confidential conversation," expressed to Morrell his "warm approbation of our new constitution," and even "personally endeavoured to remove and invalidate" objections to it on the part of "anti-federals in our societies to the southward."

The Enquirer's rejoinder, which matched Morrell's letter in length, appeared on the 24th. This time the Enquirer expounded at length on the opposition of John Wesley to the American Revolution, and quoted liberally from Wesley's pamphlet, *A Calm Address to the American Colonies*, to show how Wesley had made "*the people of America*" the "objects of his calumny and abuse." Emphasizing Coke's association with Wesley at the time, the Enquirer then returned to his main point:

. . . from circumstances like these, sir, my astonishment arose on seeing the name *Thomas Coke*, to an address to the *President* of the *United States*, not only congratulating him on his election, but exulting in 'that glorious revolution' from which our present government has arisen. . . .

If English Methodists like Coke, who participated in the Baltimore conference of 1784, had abandoned Wesley's "High Toryism," then, said the Enquirer,

the public have a right to expect some *more* convincing proof of their *political conversion*, than a subscription to the articles of the Methodist Church, a recital of former prayer, or a casual, and perhaps artfully introduced sentiment in a sermon.

As for Article 23, in the Enquirer's opinion, it

approaches too near to the *ridiculous*—for any member of *British* Methodist clergy, to meet at Baltimore, or any where else, to frame an article of their church, declarative, or what the UNITED STATES *ought* to be; or ought *not* to be!

The Enquirer insisted that he respected "the piety of the *body of the people* called *Methodists*," and he acknowledged that "the patriotism of many of them" during the American Revolution had been "uniform and ardent." Yet he considered them remiss in permitting Coke to associate himself with the address to Washington.

Had his [Coke's] *political* character *been known to the people*, I am confident, from their regard to consistency, they would have selected from amongst them, some unexceptionable man, some hallowed hand, to have presented to the *President of the United States*, their warm and sincere HOSANNAS, and not have commissioned one to deliver them, who remains uncleansed from his political pollution, and whose voice was so loud, and so long continued, crying, CRUCIFY! CRUCIFY!

In a postscript to his letter, the Enquirer could not resist a final fling. Would members of the Methodist Church, he asked, please inform the public: "*When—where, and by whom*, Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury received Episcopal consecration?"

Morrell, reminiscing about the affair many years later, implied that he had written a second letter in reply to the Enquirer, and Methodist historians usually state this as a fact.⁶⁶ If he did, there is no record of it; certainly not in the pages of the *Advertiser*.

One more letter on the subject did appear in the *Advertiser* on the 30th, but the writer of it, whose identity was not disclosed by the editor, enthusiastically aligned himself with the Enquirer. It was the postscript to the Enquirer's second letter that interested him chiefly. Pointing out that the Methodists had not "thought proper to reply" to the Enquirer's question, the writer suggested that Charles Wesley's views on the sub-

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* The *Methodist Quarterly Review*, vol. 39, 207-208, stated it as a fact that Morrell wrote a second letter.

ject might be pertinent. He then submitted a letter written by Charles Wesley on April 28, 1785, in which Charles expressed his shock and horror at the fact that his brother John had assumed the "Episcopal character," ordained elders, consecrated a bishop, and sent the latter to ordain lay preachers in America. "From this," commented the writer,

it will appear, with what inconsistency the Methodists acted, when they rushed into needless separation, and with what absurdity John Wesley and Dr. Coke, who are but Presbyters in the Church of England, assume the authority of consecrating Bishops. If the Methodists derive their ordination from Presbyters, why do they absurdly call themselves Episcopalians?

If American Methodists ever read this letter and had any thoughts about the issues it raised, they did not commit them to writing. In fact, written comment by the principals involved on the criticisms appearing in the *Advertiser* is scanty indeed. Asbury wrote Morrell, soon after the New York conference, only to say that he did not believe Coke had shared Wesley's political views during the Revolution. In fact, Asbury stated, in a curious defense of his colleague, when Coke was told about one of Wesley's anti-American pamphlets,

the bishop would not believe it had ever been written till I convinced him, by directing him to a sight of it in Georgetown, South Carolina, last April, which book he ordered to be—I know not—to be burned, may be. . . . I believe Dr. Coke to be a real friend to this country, and all its rights and liberties.⁶⁷

In his retrospect of the matter some thirty-eight years later, Morrell says merely that Coke thanked him for defending him against the criticisms of the *Enquirer* and declares that "other churches appeared dissatisfied that the *Methodists* should take the lead" in congratulating Washington.⁶⁸ Methodist historians have taken this to mean that the *Enquirer* was motivated simply by jealousy over Methodist priority, and they add only that, in his response to the *Enquirer*, Morrell successfully disposed of all the former's strictures upon the Methodists.⁶⁹ It is difficult to believe that they examined all the correspondence on the subject very carefully.

The Methodist address to Washington, as reproduced in New York newspapers, was not long in following Dr. Coke to England. Within a

⁶⁷ Quoted in Wakeley, *Lost Chapters*, 339-340.

⁶⁸ Morrell to Cooper, in Bangs, *History of Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. 1, 280-283.

⁶⁹ *Methodist Quarterly Review*, vol. 39, 207-208; Hurst, *History of Methodism*, vol. 4, 373-374; W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and George Eayrs, *A New History of Methodism* (2 vols., London, 1909), vol. 2, 101.

month of his return, Coke found that he had some explaining to do to his British brethren at their conference in Leeds. "It was urged against him," according to his official British biographer,⁷⁰ Samuel Drew,

that, as a subject of Great Britain, it was inconsistent with his character to sign the address. That several expressions therein contained, in favour of the American government, implied a severe reflection on our own, and could not justly have been used by a British subject, unless he had renounced all allegiance to his sovereign, and withdrawn himself from the constitution of his country. That, as a member of the Methodist society in England, and a leading character in the connexion, his conduct was calculated to provoke the indignation of government. And, finally, that the address itself was a tacit impeachment of Mr. Wesley's political sentiments, and tended to place the whole body of Methodists in a very equivocal and suspicious light.⁷¹

Coke apparently did not attempt to defend himself; he listened to the charges against him "in profound silence." Since "decisive steps" were deemed necessary in "this critical affair," the British conference finally decided, by way of punishment, to omit Coke's name from the British Minutes for the following year.⁷² This done, the case was considered

⁷⁰ Coke appointed Samuel Drew as his biographer shortly before his death. (Drew, *Life of Coke*, iv).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁷² In the minutes of the Leeds conference, Coke's name is omitted in the list of appointments to circuits for 1789. (*Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, from the First, Held in London, by the Late Rev. John Wesley, in the Year 1744*, London, 1862, vol. 1, 217-218).

Methodist writers who have discussed the affair in any detail—and there are not many—differ in their attitudes toward Coke.

Samuel Drew defended him, pointing out that he "had both a private and a public consistency of character to sustain. . . . As a subject of Great Britain . . . , prudence would have dictated him not to sign. But as . . . filling an official station in the Methodist societies, and as a superintendent in America, the welfare of the gospel commanded him to promote its interests, and to leave all private considerations, as unworthy of bearing the name of rival. Between these alternatives he made a noble choice, and acted upon an exalted principle. . . ." (Drew, *Life of Coke*, 105-106).

Warren A. Candler believed Coke "very properly" signed the address, charged British Methodists with "supersensitive patriotism," and concluded that "the warmth of Coke's censure by Mr. Wesley and the British brethren appears such a thing as all good Methodists everywhere could wish had no place in the records." (Warren A. Candler, *Life of Thomas Coke*, Nashville, Tennessee, 1923, 207).

Nathan Bangs said Coke's act "originated from the sincerest sentiments of veneration for the excellent Washington." (Bangs, *History of Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. 1, 286).

On the other hand, J. W. Etheridge thought Coke was "indiscreet" (J. W. Etheridge, *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke*, London, 1860, 197), and E. J. Drinkhouse remarked that "double characters of every kind are infamous, and this double relation of Coke is no less inconsistent." (E. J. Drinkhouse, *History of Methodist Reform: Synoptical of General Methodism 1773 to 1898*, 2 vols., Baltimore, 1899, vol. 1, 384). There is no comment in Wesley's *Works* on the episode.

closed by British Methodists, and Coke continued "travelling through the societies in the same manner as he had travelled before he went to America."⁷³ There is no record of the reaction of American Methodists to Coke's censure in England. As far as they were concerned, the case was presumably closed when Morrell wrote his letter to the *Advertiser*.

Nevertheless, more than three decades later, Alexander McCaine, one of the leaders of a reform movement that developed in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the 1820's, decided to reopen the case. The "Reformers," as they were called, demanded more democracy in Methodist Church organization. Among other things, they demanded the abolition of the episcopal office, lay representation in Methodist conferences, and the election, rather than the appointment, of presiding elders. McCaine's main contention was that the Methodist Episcopal organization had never had the sanction of John Wesley, and that the episcopacy had been "foisted upon the Methodist societies" by Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke.⁷⁴ In consulting the records of the past to prove his point, McCaine came across Samuel Drew's biography of Coke. He was at once struck by Drew's account of the controversy that grew out of Coke's association with the Methodist address to Washington. In this episode, McCaine decided, he had important ammunition for use in his campaign against the Methodist episcopacy.

Unfortunately, Drew had made a serious error in chronology in his account of the affair. He confused Coke's visit to the United States in 1784-85 with the one he made in 1789. He therefore gave the impression that the address to Washington was made in 1785. He also implied that Coke's censure by British Wesleyans occurred in 1785.⁷⁵ McCaine was at first genuinely puzzled. The *Arminian Magazine* for 1789, which he had also consulted, assigned the date of May, 1789, to the Washington address.⁷⁶ How was he to account for the discrepancy in dates? He finally concluded that in the matter of dating the address he had further evidence of the chicanery of Coke and Asbury.

In April, 1827, McCaine presented his findings in a long pamphlet entitled *The History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy*,⁷⁷ which, according to one of his supporters, "came like a thunderbolt from a cloud-

⁷³ Drew, *Life of Coke*, 145.

⁷⁴ T. H. Colhouer, *Sketches of the Founders of the Methodist Protestant Church, and its Bibliography* (Pittsburgh, 1880), 90-119. See also the article on Alexander McCaine (1786-1856) in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 11, 560.

⁷⁵ Drew, *Life of Coke*, 85-162.

⁷⁶ *Arminian Magazine* (Philadelphia), vol. 1 (1789), 284-286.

⁷⁷ *The History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy, or, a Glance at "The Institutions of the Church as We Received Them from Our Fathers," by Alexander McCaine, Elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Baltimore, 1827).

less sky" and "produced a profound sensation in Episcopal Methodism."⁷⁸ Though much of *History and Mystery* dwelt on the origins of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a considerable portion of it was devoted to the Methodist address to Washington. Coke and Asbury, McCaine asserted, "publicly assumed" the title of bishop for the first time on the occasion of their address to Washington; "perhaps it was thought," he suggested, "that the dignified character they were about to approach, and the occasion, required the superintendents to appear in their best dress, and take the title of 'bishops.'"⁷⁹ On his return to England, continued McCaine, Coke was severely censured by John Wesley and the British Methodists for calling himself a bishop on this occasion. Both of these events, said McCaine, following Drew, took place in 1785. Yet the official American Methodist version of the Washington address, appearing in the *Arminian Magazine*, he pointed out, was strangely dated 1789. McCaine's conclusion:

From all these facts, it is evident that the *date* of this address was altered. It was presented before the Doctor left the United States, which was on the 3d day of June, 1785, and yet, when it was published, it is dated about four years after the answer to it was given; nor does the answer bear a date. . . . By whom these alterations were made and for what purposes, it is not for us to say. Some may suppose that Mr. Asbury, who was coupled with the Doctor in presenting the address, hearing of the punishment inflicted upon Dr. Coke, felt alarmed; and that some of his friends, apprehending that he also might be called to account for it by Mr. Wesley, resolved to prevent it, and as a measure of precaution or retaliation, disowned his authority, and voted his name out of the American minutes. And to change the date &c. of the address, that the assumption of the title of bishop might not appear to be the cause of such and ungrateful, if not cruel act. It is however worthy of remark, that as soon as Mr. Wesley's name was restored to the minutes, this address was published!⁸⁰

Asbury and his friends, in other words, delayed publication of the Washington address until 1789, when the storm over the use of the title of bishop had presumably blown over; and they postdated the address, McCaine seems to be saying, in order to conceal the fact that Wesley had chided Coke for calling himself a bishop in 1785! In arriving at this curious conclusion, McCaine mistakenly linked the omission of Wesley's name from the American *Minutes* for 1787 and 1788, as well as the censure of Coke at Leeds in 1789, with the assumption of the title of bishop

⁷⁸ Colhouer, *Sketches of Founders of Methodist Protestant Church*, 100.

⁷⁹ *History and Mystery*, 46.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 46-47.

by the two superintendents. Thus he compounded the errors originally committed by Drew.

John Emory, Methodist book agent in New York and leading opponent of the "Reformers," replied to McCaine in a long pamphlet with a long title in November, 1827.⁸¹ He found it easy to demolish McCaine's conjectures about the address to Washington. First, he emphasized the absurdity of supposing that Asbury and his friends could accomplish anything by changing the date of the address. How could they, he asked,

have committed such a stupid forgery in the falsification of an official document, when both he and they must have known that the means of their exposure were so notorious that their detection and conviction would be inevitable? For it will be recollected that the parties were then all living and the circumstances all recent; and matters of public notoriety. From what principle so vile an insinuation could proceed, on ground not only so futile, but so perfectly and manifestly absurd, the reader must form his own conclusion.⁸²

He next pointed out that American Methodists had first used the title of bishop in their *Minutes* for 1788, not in 1785, and that Wesley had expressed his displeasure to Asbury the same year. (He had no comment to make, however, about the latter event.) Finally, he brought forth a mass of evidence to show that Drew had erred in dating the Washington address: New York newspaper accounts of the address appearing in June, 1789; a letter from Jared Sparks, editor of Washington's papers, affirming May 29, 1789, as the correct date; and a letter written by Thomas Morrell on August 26, 1827, giving a lengthy account of the meeting with Washington and his own participation in it and categorically denying McCaine's insinuations. Emory ended his refutation of McCaine by quoting a comment of Rev. Ezekiel Cooper of Trenton, New Jersey,⁸³ to the effect that McCaine's charge of forgery really involved Washington himself in the alleged conspiracy, for Washington "has left it on record among his papers, that the said address was received by him May 29, 1789."⁸⁴

By an honest error growing out of Drew's carelessness, McCaine had been led into easily refutable speculations about the Washington ad-

⁸¹ John Emory, *A Defense of "Our Fathers" and of the Original Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church against the Rev. Alexander McCaine, and others; with Historical and Critical Notices of Early American Methodism* (New York, 1827). For John Emory (1789-1835), see Robert Emory, *The Life of the Rev. John Emory* (New York, 1841), and the article on John Emory in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 6, 152-153.

⁸² *Defense of "Our Fathers,"* 62.

⁸³ See article on Ezekiel Cooper (1763-1847), in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 4, 397-398.

⁸⁴ *Defense of "Our Fathers,"* 85.

dress. In so doing, he enabled Emory to concentrate on this aspect of McCaine's pamphlet and to avoid facing squarely the legitimate questions about the origin of the Methodist episcopacy which McCaine raised elsewhere. Having blundered in this fashion, McCaine stubbornly refused to retreat from his position. In answering Emory two years later,⁸⁵ he continued to insist that there was a "mystery" about the Washington address. "I should like to know," he said, finally convinced that an address had been made to Washington in 1789, "if there were *two* addresses, drawn up and presented, by Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, to General Washington? The one in 1785 . . . the other in 1789. . . ."⁸⁶ After all, he pointed out, Drew stated that Coke and Asbury made an address to Washington in 1785; and Drew was a "close thinker," a man of "*ability*" and "*integrity*," possessing "ministerial standing" and a "high character for piety,"⁸⁷ whose biography of Coke "has been lately recommended to members of the society without even an *index expurgatorius*."⁸⁸ Only at one point—when he acknowledged that the matter of the Washington address "does not affect Methodist episcopacy; it neither confirms its claims, nor destroys its validity"—did McCaine seem to realize the folly of continuing the argument along these lines.⁸⁹

There was no need, obviously, for Emory to say more on the subject of the Washington address. He had clearly emerged victor in the controversy with McCaine on this point. Furthermore, in the fall of 1827, McCaine was expelled from the Methodist Episcopal Church for his reform activities,⁹⁰ and in 1830 played an active role in the organization of a new branch of Methodism—the Methodist Protestant Church.⁹¹

Nevertheless, long after the "Reformers" had established an organization of their own, McCaine was still harping on the subject of the address to Washington. In 1849, he published a series of letters in the

⁸⁵ *A Defense of the Truth, As Set Forth in the "History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy," Being a Reply to John Emory's "Defense of our Fathers"* (Baltimore, 1829).

⁸⁶ *Defense of the Truth*, 106. Shortly after the publication of *History and Mystery*, Dr. William Phoebus, who had attended the New York conference in 1789, informed the *Methodist Magazine* of his recollection "that an address was prepared, and addressed to GENERAL WASHINGTON in 1785, before he was elected President of the UNITED STATES; and that it was presented to him by Dr. Coke and bishop Asbury personally, with a copy of the Prayer Book. . . . It is this address that Mr. Drew alludes to. . . ." (*Methodist Magazine*, vol. 10 [1827], 396). Possibly Phoebus' error in memory was responsible for McCaine's belief that there had been two addresses to Washington; however, McCaine did not refer to Phoebus in *Defense of the Truth*.

⁸⁷ *Defense of the Truth*, 127.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁹⁰ Colhouer, *Sketches of the Founders of the Methodist Protestant Church*, 104.

⁹¹ Buckley, *History of Methodism in the United States*, vol. 1, 448.

Boston Olive Branch on the history and nature of Methodist Episcopal polity which appeared in book form the following year.⁹² In these letters, McCaine no longer denied that there was only one address to Washington, and that one in 1789, but he was still irritated by the "pompous manner" in which Coke and Asbury had commenced their address—"We, the bishops"—to Washington.⁹³ Apparently having by this time lost faith in Drew, who had led him so far astray, he now found it remarkable that Drew reprinted Washington's reply, but not the Methodist address itself in his biography. "Did Mr. Drew," he asked, "think that the language of the address was too republican, or if you please, too American, for a subject of the King of Great Britain to use to a President of the United States?"⁹⁴ Taking leave of the matter at long last, McCaine had this final word to say about Coke: "He wanted to be a bishop; he therefore pompously styled himself one in his address to the President of the United States." And Asbury?

"He wanted to be a bishop; he therefore pompously addressed the President of the United States in conjunction with Dr. Coke, in these words, 'We, the bishops, &c.' and so full was his head with the idea, that he obtained the passage of the restrictive rule which entails Episcopacy upon Methodism forever."⁹⁵

E. J. Drinkhouse, one of the few Methodist writers to examine the McCaine-Emory controversy over the Washington address in any detail, lamented the "serious amount of ink" wasted on it.⁹⁶ Perhaps it is not too much to suggest that not so much ink would have been wasted had American Methodists, beginning with Morrell in his response to the *Enquirer* in 1789, been a little more candid about the origins of the Methodist episcopacy in the United States.

To the fascinated, but possibly naive, outsider, this much, at least, seems clear:

Wesley broke with the Church of England when he started ordaining, and American Methodists broke with Wesley when they transformed superintendents into bishops, and, for all practical purposes, asserted Asbury's primacy over Coke and Wesley. Doubtless it was an arbitrary, not to say illogical and irregular, way of getting a Methodist episcopacy in the United States, but the history of church organization, like that of most organizations, is not noted especially for its logicity.

⁹² *Letters on the Organization and Early History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Boston, 1850).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 157-158.

⁹⁶ Drinkhouse, *History of Methodist Reform*, vol. 1, 385.

McCaine was surely wrong in supposing that American Methodists wanted anything but an episcopacy in the 1780s. To paraphrase McCaine: American Methodists wanted an episcopacy; they therefore created one, out of the materials at hand. There seems to be no "mystery" in any of this. And there is no reason to believe that George Washington, whose approval the Methodists sought so eagerly in 1789, would have had any objections to the procedure.

On March 31, 1916, American Methodists celebrated the 100th anniversary of Asbury's death in Foundry Church, Washington, D.C. Bishop Earl Cranston opened the service by reading the Methodist address to Washington, and President Woodrow Wilson responded by reading Washington's reply and then delivering a discourse on Asbury.⁹⁷ It is pleasant to report that the twenty-eighth President's association with the Methodists on this occasion, unlike that of the first President's produced no controversies either inside or outside of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Twenty-three years later, in May, 1939, three branches of Methodism—(1) the Methodist Episcopal Church (North), (2) the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and (3) the Methodist Protestant Church—were united into "The Methodist Church."⁹⁸ Thus, the word "Episcopal" was dropped from the official title, which may have pleased the former members of the Methodist Protestant Church, but "bishops" were far from being dropped from the constitution of the resulting united church.

⁹⁷ *Methodist Review*, vol. 113 (July 1930), 517.

⁹⁸ B. Y. Landis (ed.), *Yearbook of American Churches* (New York, 1958), pp. 83-84.

The Library of the Church Historical Society*

By Frederick L. Chenery**

MY previous report (November, 1957) was written about a year after the library had been moved into its new quarters in the Library building of the Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest. This was the first librarian's report after the removal of the major obstacle to the library's development—lack of space—and the main emphasis of the report was suggestions as to the future plans for the library.

This report was prepared at a time when two other obstacles remained to handicap our work: (1) lack of clear and definite policies governing the program of the library; (2) lack of adequate financial support, with the consequent inability to employ a competent, full-time director for the library.

It is a pleasure to report that in large measure these remaining obstacles have been removed. This present report will emphasize the current program of the library in following the directives of the "Statement of Functions of the Society," and will report on the good news of the appointment of an archivist.

At its meeting in December, 1957, the Board of Managers prepared a "Statement of Functions of the Society," which was adopted at the annual meeting of the Society, January 30, 1958. These are printed in the *Journal of the General Convention, 1958* (p. 373). Because of their direct bearing on the work of the library, I wish to call attention to them by repeating them here.

THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

STATEMENT OF FUNCTIONS

Resolved: That the Board of Managers hereby adopts the following Statement of Functions of the Church Historical Society and directs that it be made known to the Church at large:

The functions of the Society shall be:

1. To receive, select, and preserve the archival records of the General Convention, together with those of its major committees and commissions, and the archival records of the National Council.

* This is the report of the librarian, made to the annual meeting of the Church Historical Society, in Austin, Texas, on May 14, 1959.—*Editor's note.*

** Mr. Chenery, librarian of the Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, graciously served as the Society's librarian until June 1, 1959.—*Editor's note.*

2. Wherever possible, to receive, select from, and preserve all archival records of the dioceses and missionary districts of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, including parochial histories.

3. To receive and preserve publications of the unofficial institutions and voluntary associations of the same Church and to maintain records of their activities.

4. To collect and preserve periodicals, both past and current, bearing upon the same Church.

5. To encourage use of the Society's Library as a depository for books, manuscripts, and photographs bearing upon the history of the same Church.

6. To collect, so far as may be feasible, biographical and bibliographical materials on the clergymen and lay leaders of the same Church.

7. To receive and preserve books and pamphlets about the same Church and those on whatever topic by Episcopal authors.

8. To maintain a small, carefully selected collection of general works regarding the Anglican Communion beyond the United States of America.

9. To receive and preserve, so far as may be feasible, records of organizations in which the same Church participates, such as the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches.

10. To publish such scholarly works in Church history and biography as editorial facilities and financial resources may permit, especially those based on archives in the custody of the Society.

The adoption of this *Statement* gave the librarian some clear directives which eliminated much of the confusion as to his appropriate goals and procedures. Our activities this year have been in the directions indicated by this *Statement*.

Continued lack of adequate personnel has prevented the advancement of our most important responsibility of organizing the archival records. Fortunately, Dr. Virginia Nelle Bellamy will begin work on June 1, 1959, as full-time Archivist, and then attention can be focused on these materials over which the Society has responsibility as the "official agency of the General Convention for the collection, preservation, and safe-keeping of records connected with the life of . . . [this] Church."

The Rev. Dr. Charles D. Kean, secretary-treasurer of the Joint Commission on Approaches to Unity, has recently offered the back correspondence and minutes of the commission to us, and the offer has been accepted with gratitude. As the Society's library gains prestige, I hope that many more such gifts and deposits of primary source materials will be received.

There are many diocesan publications not now reaching the library, and we are corresponding with these dioceses asking to be placed on their mailing lists. We still lack many diocesan journals, and work has not yet begun on the long-term project of microfilming complete runs of the journals.

One of our major projects now in process is microfilming important periodicals. The library has rented a microfilm camera, and our holdings of *The Episcopal Recorder*, *The Banner of the Cross*, *The Churchman*, and *The Living Church* are being filmed. When we lack certain volumes, we are borrowing them or arranging for their filming at another library. In years to come, other periodicals will be filmed, so the library will have complete and permanent copies of all periodicals relating to the Episcopal Church. Positive microfilm copies can be easily made from the library's negatives, and these will be made available to other libraries that wish them.

Considerations that led to the decision to begin this microfilming project were the incomplete files in the library, which probably never could have been completed in full, the deterioration of the paper in many of our volumes, and the prohibitive costs of binding.

The *Statement of Functions* defined the nature of our book collection, and this has enabled us to select about 2,000 volumes for priority in cataloging and eliminate at least 5,000 as unsuited for the collection. The library will be strengthened when its book collection is limited to books supporting its primary purposes of research in the history and life of the Episcopal Church. In the future, thousands of books must be obtained which are directly relevant to this purpose.

During the period covered by this report (November, 1957-April, 1959), we have answered approximately 360 mail inquiries, and have loaned 130 books by mail. About 356 books were checked out at the library.

The library will render increasing service to the Church as it gains recognition and prestige. One outstanding effort in this direction has been the preparation of a special display which includes a brief history of the Society, a summary of its purposes and services, a list of publications, and photographs. This display was originally prepared for use at the General Convention in 1958. It was constructed so that it can be transported to diocesan conventions. This display proved very effective at the last convention of the Diocese of Texas. Many people became acquainted with the work of the Society, and there was a good sale of publications.

The news of the General Convention's action regarding the library's budget was received with enthusiasm and thanksgiving. The Society was granted an annual appropriation of \$15,000, or \$45,000 for the triennium. The most significant result of this generous support was the Society's ability to appoint a full-time director for the library. As has already been mentioned in this report, Dr. Virginia Nelle Bellamy will assume the responsibilities of Archivist on June 1. This increased budget also provides funds for clerical assistance, book purchases, equipment, and supplies.


I am grateful for having had the opportunity to assist in the work of this important undertaking during the past two and a half years. My primary responsibility as librarian of the Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest has limited my services to the Society. I rejoice that Dr. Bellamy, who succeeds me, will have as her full-time responsibility the direction of the Church Historical Society Library. The two libraries are in one building, and work together in the effort to render the best possible service to a theological seminary and to the Episcopal Church. It will be a pleasure to work with Dr. Bellamy in this joint enterprise.

April 30, 1959

FREDERICK L. CHENERY

Recent Books in Church History*

By Robert S. Bosher**

LUMNI may find of particular interest an unusual number of recent books dealing with phases of the English Reformation and the century following. Two excellent biographies of Reformation monarchs head the list: H. W. Chapman, *The Last Tudor King: A Study of Edward VI* (Jonathan Cape), and Elizabeth Jenkins, *Elizabeth the Great* (Coward-McCann). The latter work, though not written by a professional historian, has been widely hailed as the most convincing portrait of Elizabeth I to appear in many years, and is certainly hard to put down.

An ecclesiastical biography of distinction is P. A. Walsby's *Lancelot Andrewes, 1556-1626* (S.P.C.K.). This is an honest if not always flattering study of the great Jacobean bishop, which will certainly be accepted as the standard life. Clerical life in general is described in A. T. Hart's *The Country Clergy in Elizabethan and Stuart Times, 1558-1660* (Phoenix House), full of interesting detail from a wide range of sources.¹

There are other books which enlarge our understanding of the movement of theology in these crucial years. In *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge), H. C. Porter explores in detail the growth of Calvinist dominance in the intellectual center of Elizabethan England, and the first stirring of Arminian revolt. What might otherwise be dry fare for most readers is seasoned with ingratiating urbanity and wit. An unusual study is *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642* (Toronto), in which M. MacLure has examined the surviving evidence of sermons preached from the famous pulpit outside St. Paul's Cathedral, and shown how largely preaching was both a vehicle and reflection of political policy during this century.

A work of major interest is C. W. Dugmore's *The Mass and the English Reformers* (St. Martin's Press). Taking into account the recent

* This article is reprinted, with permission, from the *Bulletin of the General Theological Seminary*, Vol. XLV, No. 3 (May, 1959), pp. 14-17.

** The Rev. Dr. Bosher is Professor in the Department of Ecclesiastical History and Director of Graduate Studies, the General Theological Seminary, New York City.—*Editor's note.*

¹ We venture to add another book to Dr. Bosher's list, which will enlighten the average student on Elizabethan times. It is Sir John E. Neale's *Essays in Elizabethan History* (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1958), pp. 225. \$3.50. For a sample of its quality, see above the editorial, "Why Study History?"—*Editor's note.*

discussions of Cranmer's Eucharistic views, the author surveys all the influences at work in the production of the Anglican liturgy, and concludes that an earlier Catholic tradition stemming from St. Augustine was more formative than Continental Protestant theories. A book which could serve as a sequel to this one is *Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (S.P.C.K.), by W. J. Grisbrooke. Here are reprinted, with an enlightening commentary, various unofficial rites (including those of the Non-Jurors) which illustrate the chronic dissatisfaction with the liturgy deriving from the 1552 Prayer Book.

R. S. Westfall's *Science and Religion in Seventeenth Century England* (Yale) is a useful account of the theological tensions and adjustments occasioned by scientific advance in the age of Newton and Boyle. In *Anglicanism and Episcopacy* (Faith Press), A. L. Peck examines Professor Norman Sykes' thesis about Anglican teaching on episcopacy in this period, and subjects it to damaging criticism on many grounds.

Religion in other parts of the British Isles is the subject of two interesting books, both of which break new ground: F. R. Bolton, *The Caroline Tradition of the Church of Ireland* (S.P.C.K.) and W. R. Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery: The Church of Scotland, 1661-1688* (S.P.C.K.). Roland Foster's study was prepared as a Master's thesis here at the Seminary, and is a fine piece of research on the experiment of uniting Presbyterian and Episcopalian systems within a single national Church. It also answers in the negative a question not always honestly faced—was Episcopalianism in seventeenth century Scotland in any sense "Anglican"?

A few important books concerned with other periods should be mentioned. In *Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture in England, 1089-1135* (Princeton), N. F. Cantor challenges the traditional account of Archbishop Anselm's struggle with William Rufus and Henry I, and maintains that the outcome was not the victory of the Hilderbrandine ideal in England, but its total defeat by the crown. He argues his case with competence and learning, and it will be interesting to see how far it wins acceptance from other medieval historians. A new Penguin book by Gordon Leff, *Medieval Thought: St. Augustine to Ockham*, is well worth buying as an excellent introduction to the history of Christian thought in the period 400-1350.

Probably the most important new book on the eighteenth century Church is M. Hennell's *John Venn and the Clapham Sect*, a fine study of the most important center of Evangelical devotion and good works. A solid biography of one of the later Tractarian leaders is B. A. Smith's *Dean Church: The Anglican Response to Newman* (Oxford), a book

which stresses Church's achievement as a theologian.* A. M. Allchin, *The Silent Rebellion: Anglican Religious Communities, 1845-1900* (SCM Press) is a more general history than the recent encyclopedic work by Peter Anson, and is a good supplement to it. What is undoubtedly the best short history of the Roman Catholic Church from the time of the French Revolution to the present has been produced by an English historian, E. E. Y. Hales; its title is *The Catholic Church in the Modern World* (Hanover House).

Finally, there are two important items to be noted in the area of American religion. No figure looms larger in the early years than Bishop Francis Asbury, the great "Apostle of Methodism," and his *Journals and Letters* (Abingdon), edited in three handsomely produced volumes by E. T. Clark, will be an indispensable source for the study of frontier evangelism and the rapid expansion of Methodism in the new West. The second book deals with one of the legacies of frontier religion—*Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (Ronald Press), by W. G. McLoughlin. In its author's words, it attempts "to explain the part which revivalism has played, and is playing today, in the social, intellectual, and religious life of America." It is a searching and objective study of a major theme in American Protestant history; to some readers, its unsparing analysis of the Billy Graham crusade may come as a revelation.

* See below, pp. 207-209, Dr. Eckel's detailed review of this volume.—Editor's note.

Book Reviews

I. American Church History and Biography

Saint Thomas Church in the City and County of New York, 1823-1954.

By George E. DeMille. The Church Historical Society. Austin, Texas. 1958. Pp. vii + 198. \$3.00.

Canon DeMille has added to his other valuable contributions to the history of the American Episcopal Church a parish history that, in our judgment, ranks high among similar contributions in this special field. With characteristic modesty, he gives credit for ninety per cent of the facts to the painstaking researches of the late Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, historiographer of the Episcopal Church, who about 1941 was requested by the vestry of St. Thomas to write such a history. At the request of the present rector, Dr. Frederick M. Morris (who discovered Dr. Chorley's manuscript), Canon DeMille has rewritten and edited Dr. Chorley's material, assuming responsibility for the conclusions drawn and the opinions expressed. In so doing, he has had to revise his preconceptions of what St. Thomas Parish was like, and no doubt will help many of his readers, as he has helped this reviewer, to do the same.

By reviewing each of the ten rectorates in turn, from the small beginnings under Cornelius Roosevelt Duffie to the present rectorate of Dr. Morris, our author enables us to see the history of the parish against the background of the growth of New York City from a fairly homogeneous city of 166,000 to the present roaring polyglot metropolis of the Western Hemisphere, with all the social, cultural, and economic changes involved therein.

We see how the parish reacted to changing emphases of Churchmanship. The first clergy were of the Hobartian school of High Churchmanship. The controversies attendant upon Tractarianism and the unhappy suspension of Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk were reflected in the life of the parish.

Francis Lister Hawks, third rector (1831-1843), was a pulpit orator whose eloquence filled the church to overflowing. He was also a genius in the educational field, organizing and personally supervising a Sunday school which numbered at its peak 1,300 children, 80 teachers, and 80 children in a colored school. But his efforts to establish a boys' school at Flushing, where Dr. Wm. A. Muhlenberg had his St. Paul's College, resulted in a financial debacle and his resignation as rector of St. Thomas under a cloud.

Henry J. Whitehouse, fourth rector (1843-1851) and later Bishop of Illinois, was a bitter anti-Onderdonkian, and by his rigidity caused dissension within the parish. The High Church tradition continued (with some restiveness on the part of the laity) through the rectorate of John Wesley Brown (1888-1900).

Canon DeMille considers that it was broken by the advent of Dr. Ernest Milmore Stires (1901-1925), a Liberal Evangelical with em-

phasis on Evangelical rather than on Liberal. This reviewer can corroborate his further comment that he was "credally orthodox, perfectly aware that he was an Episcopalian and not just another Protestant." In 1914, while I was a student at the General Seminary, I heard Dr. Stires, before a crowded congregation in the new St. Thomas' Church, deliver a devastating rejoinder to the learned Abbe Gasquet, who, as a visiting preacher at St. Patrick's Cathedral, had elaborated the point that the Anglican Church was the creature of Henry VIII!

The first two church edifices, built and rebuilt at Broadway and Houston Street, were nondescript, barnlike structures. The chief distinction of the first, completed in 1826, was that it was the earliest edifice in New York City to show the influence of the Gothic Revival. With the completion in 1870 of the third edifice, at Fifth Avenue and 53rd Street, during the long rectorate of William Ferdinand Morgan (1857-1888), St. Thomas' close association with the arts began. Though not one of the most successful of Richard Upjohn's churches, its chancel was richly adorned with sculpture by St. Gaudens and murals by John LaFarge. In George William Warren, who was organist from 1870 to 1900, Church music of the flamboyant school then popular was superbly rendered. And, of course, the utilization of the arts reached its climax in the erection of the present St. Thomas, designed by Cram, Goodhue and Ferguson, during Dr. Stires' rectorate, together with the long tenure of T. Tertius Noble (1913-1943) as organist and choirmaster, and the establishment and building of the Choir School during that period.

The removal of St. Thomas Church from the old location at Broadway and Houston to the present location on Fifth Avenue evoked violent criticism from John Henry Hopkins, Jr. in the pages of *The Church Journal*, ostensibly on the ground that the parish was evading its responsibility to preach the Gospel to the poor. But the criticism was not well founded. From the beginning of his rectorate, Dr. Morgan, with shrewd understanding of his parishioners, emphasized their responsibility to the poor. With the assistance of a very unusual person, the Rev. Ralph Hoyt, a Free Chapel of St. Thomas Church was opened at Prince and Thompson Streets in 1858. A few years later St. Thomas Chapel was relocated on the upper East Side, between Fifth Avenue and the East River, where, under a succession of capable vicars, it has ministered to the spiritual needs of successive waves of foreign immigration—German, Chinese, Bohemian—and through St. Thomas House and the Halsey Day Nursery carried on an extensive social and charitable work. With changed conditions in recent years, St. Thomas Chapel has been moving toward a goal of independence and self-support.

From the very outset, even in the days when Church financing was on an incredibly amateurish basis, St. Thomas has recognized its responsibility to the whole program of the Church and to the community at large. During Dr. Stires' rectorate in particular, and continuing through Dr. Roelif H. Brooks' rectorate (1926-1954) down to the present, its gifts to philanthropic and missionary work in the Diocese of New York and in the domestic and foreign field have borne witness

to the statement that "the peculiar vocation of St. Thomas Church was to take the money which flowed into New York and convert it to the service of Almighty God."

A brief concluding chapter by Walter C. Baker, present Junior Warden, takes "A Look to the Future," and anticipates the ministry of St. Thomas in the world of tomorrow.

The book abounds in keen characterizations, and is spiced with entertaining anecdotes. The illustrations are excellent and abundant. An Appendix lists the various clergy, wardens, vestrymen and parish officers, organists and choirmasters, and sextons, who have served both the Church and the Chapel from the beginning. The Church Historical Society is to be congratulated upon putting this noteworthy parish history out in such attractive typography and format as its "Publication Number 47." Typographical errors and other inaccuracies are at a minimum. We note that Bishop Joseph Cruikshank Talbot of Indiana (p. 82) is confused in the Index with Bishop Ethelbert Talbot.

E. H. ECKEL, *Rector Emeritus,*
Trinity Parish, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Western Hills Lodge,
Wagoner, Oklahoma.



Seed for a Song. By Lee Hastings Bristol, Jr. Little, Brown and Co., Boston. 1958. Pp. xii + 244. \$3.75.

Mr. Bristol is widely known in the Episcopal Church as a leader among our younger laymen and as the author, for a time, of a column for laymen in *The Living Church*. Out of deference to his father, who wished him to carry on the family tradition in the business world, and in recognition of the fact that the Church needs good laymen as well as good clergy, the younger Bristol laid aside his youthful ambition to enter holy orders, and is now director of public relations at the Bristol-Myers Products Division. But his continued interest in the Christian ministry and his devotion to its ideals are well illustrated by this delightful sketch of the life of Bishop Robert Nelson Spencer of West Missouri, whom Bristol first met when he was in training at Camp Crowder during World War II.

This reviewer has known and admired Robert Nelson Spencer for upwards of fifty years—a far longer time than Lee Bristol! But he wishes to express his debt of thanks to Mr. Bristol for finding and taking the time out of his busy life to portray the greatly beloved bishop who, at the age of eighty-two, disdains the adjective "retired," preferring to be known as "Bishop Spencer, Long Time No See!" We have heard the book disparaged as a superficial, anecdotal, "as told to me" sort of book. Perhaps. But its very lightness and ease of style have the merit of making it possible for the average layman, who would never wade through a scholarly, annotated biography, to catch the inspiration and the charm

of one of the most unusual, witty, urbane, and highly literate bishops our American Church has yet produced. For that reason, it should have a wide sale, and should be available in all parish libraries.

For Mr. Bristol *has* captured (there is no doubt about it) something of the heroism, the indomitable faith, the whimsy, the wit, and the pathos of the man who, born in a humble Christian home in the little hamlet of Tunnel, New York, overcame incredible handicaps to obtain an education and enter holy orders, and lived to be acclaimed the first Christian citizen of metropolitan Kansas City. There is dramatic irony in the story of the frail and shy youth who sought the counsel of "William of Albany" on a busy Christmas morning and was turned away, not unkindly, with the suggestion that he confer with his own bishop (Central New York), and then years later heard Bishop Doane's processional, "Ancient of Days," sung at his own consecration to the episcopate in Grace and Holy Trinity Cathedral, Kansas City. (I was present on that occasion.) There is romance and pathos in his courtship and lifelong devotion to his beloved Amy, and his daughter Kathleen. There is sheer delight in his handling of William Rockhill Nelson, the autocratic publisher of the *Kansas City Star* and *Times*. There are chuckles of admiration and joy as one reads of his verbal bouts with Sinclair Lewis and Clarence Darrow. There are echoes of Amos and Isaiah and St. Ambrose and Savonarola in his prophetic denunciation of the corrupt Pendergast regime. There is much of value for divinity students and the younger clergy in the stories of his dealings with the mentally and spiritually ill. And through it all, the compassion of our Lord Himself shines through the bishop's dealings with rebellious, misguided, bewildered, and frustrated souls.

But why try to summarize Mr. Bristol's labor of love? Only for the purpose of persuading *you*, dear reader, to read and enjoy and profit by this book yourself.

E. H. ECKEL.



"*And One Was a Priest.*" By Jessie D. Hall. Church Literature Foundation, Milwaukee. 1958. Pp. xiii + 92. \$2.75.

This is another biographical "labor of love," being "a portrait of Marshall Mallory Day, Anglican priest, modern saint, Rector of Christ Episcopal Church, Whitefish Bay, Wisconsin, 1931-1953." The author is one of Father Day's children in the faith, Mrs. Jessie D. Hall. Bishop Hallock writes a brief, but pertinent, Foreword.

It is not often that one finds, even in the so-called "Biretta Belt," a large suburban parish displaying abundantly "the fruit of good works," making its influence felt throughout the community, and yet absolutely united in its loyalty to Anglo-Catholic faith and practice. Such a parish is Christ Church, Whitefish Bay. And that it is so today is a striking tribute to the sanctity, the scholarship, the priestly ideals, the common

sense, and the sheer down-to-earth humanity of Father Marshall M. Day, who was its rector for twenty-two years until his death on the Feast of Christ the King, 1953. The fine church and parish house in the heart of the community, with all its far-reaching activity centering at the altar, is his fitting monument.

Father Day, whose scholarship was attested by the fact that he came to Whitefish Bay after six years as professor of Hebrew and Old Testament at Nashotah House, was uncompromising in his adherence to Anglo-Catholicism. This is well brought out in a lengthy letter which Mrs. Hall quotes, written to a former parishioner who had hinted that many of the more influential people might prefer a middle-of-the-road type of churchmanship. As one of the editors of *The American Missal*, he used the Missal consistently for his daily weekday masses, because it brought out the schematic variations of the Christian Year. He loved ceremonial and color, but there was nothing prim or precocious in his use of it. Not infrequently, his spontaneity resulted in a ceremonial snafu which both bewildered and delighted his fellow participants.

He was indeed "an holy and humble man of heart," with a great love of God, love of life, love of people, and love of nature. His very earthiness made him unusually disarming and effective as a pastor, ministering to souls without regard to Church affiliation or lack of affiliation. All of this is brought out in charming detail within the brief compass of this little book.

E. H. ECKEL.



This Church of Ours. Edited by Howard A. Johnson, with a Foreword by the Rt. Rev. Horace W. B. Donegan. Greenwich, Seabury Press, 1958. Pp. viii + 129. \$3.25.

The sub-title of this book is "The Episcopal Church, What It Is, and What It Teaches About Living." The titles of the various chapters, with the names of the authors, are as follows: "Our Heritage," Powell Mills Dawley; "Our Freedom," Stephen F. Bayne, Jr.; "Our Law and Our Liberty," John McG. Krumm; "Our Personal Life," Lawrence Rose; "Our Life in the Parish," Carroll E. Simcox; "Our Life in the Community," Albert T. Mollegen; "Our Life in the Nation and the World," J. V. Langmead Casserley; "Our Reason for Being," Theodore O. Wedel.

Just to list the names of the contributors is to assure the thoughtful reader of the stimulus that he will find in this symposium. But we warn him that he will not find all the chapters easy reading. We are beginning to hear nowadays of a "lack of communication" between the clergy and the laity. An academic viewpoint and an addiction to theological and psychological jargon limits the intelligibility of much that issues from the religious press either to the highly literate or to the ecclesiastically minded. It simply does not reach the average man in the pews, let alone the man in the street, where he lives. It seems to this reviewer that

Krumm and Simcox avoid this pitfall more successfully than the other contributors. But there is so much meat in all the chapters that we gave copies of the book as Christmas presents to two or three of our influential lay friends, hoping that they might find as much stimulus in the book as we ourselves have found.

E. H. ECKEL.



Moses Ashley Curtis, 1808-1872. Teacher—Priest—Scientist. By William S. Powell. The Stephens Press, Inc. Asheville, N. C. Pp. 26. Available without charge from the University of North Carolina Library.

This little brochure on the life and work of a (to this reviewer) hitherto unknown worthy is written as "a tribute on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of his birth." Its subject was a man of Massachusetts Puritan stock, son of a Congregational minister, a graduate of Williams College and cousin of Mark Hopkins. He migrated to North Carolina, married a Wilmington lady (Mary de Rosset), entered the Episcopal Church, and was ordained after study under the Rev. William Croswell, rector of the Church of the Advent, Boston. He identified himself thoroughly with his adopted South, served parishes and missions throughout North Carolina, taught school, was associated with Bishop Levi Silliman Ives in the conception of his ill-fated Valle Crucis venture, and was one of the founding fathers of the University of the South. He died in 1872, leaving several living children, one of whom became a priest. Along with his career as a teacher and clergyman, he pursued an amazing parallel career as a pioneer scientist, whose reputation in botany was international and lives to this day, along with an extensive bibliography of his published writings, many of which are still recognized as authoritative in the field of natural science.

E. H. ECKEL.



The Church of the Epiphany (New York). By Charles H. Russell. Morehouse-Gorham, New York. Price \$2.00.

This unpretentious little book, well printed and superbly illustrated, tells the story of a New York parish that went through three stages. Founded in 1833 under the auspices of the City Mission Society, it was a free church. This meant in those days that the pews were not rented; indirectly, it meant that this was a church for the poor. Under its first rector, the Rev. Lot Jones, who died in 1865, it carried on an excellent work. But eventually it was hit by that curse of New York City

churches, a shift in population. In 1893, it was combined with the Church of St. John the Baptist, at Lexington Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street. Here it became a run-of-the-mine middle class parish, and such it remained until 1935. But again the shift of population did its deadly work, and in that year, under the rectorship of the Rev. John Wallace Suter, Jr., it was forced to take thought for its future. After considering various possibilities, work was begun on a new church at the corner of York Avenue and 74th Street. Here the parish began a new and healthy existence. Mr. Russell has told his story well, and has added one more to our mounting collection of good parish histories.

*Diocese of Albany,
New York.*

GEORGE E. DeMILLE.



The Sermon and the Propers. By Fred H. Lindemann. Two volumes, Concordia, St. Louis, 1958. \$4.50 per volume. ("The Introduction" is printed in both volumes.)

These volumes present commentaries on the Lutheran propers and sermon outlines for the Church Year from the first Sunday in Advent through Pentecost. Pastor Lindemann's stated purpose is "to encourage preaching according to the Church Year and in harmony with the appointed Propers" (page 1).

A chapter devoted to a Sunday or holy day contains some historical information about the observance or the season, and includes, in full texts, the Proper Introit, Collect, Gradual, Sentence or Tract, and the Proper Preface from the *Common Service Book*. He shows how these carry the meaning of the Epistle and/or Gospel, and how the sacrament has a special significance in the light of the word of the Epistle and Gospel. In some few cases, he reprints whole sermons, written by others, devoted to a theme expressed in the propers, but for the most part he offers outlines for sermons on both the Epistle and Gospel. This is helpful for the preacher wanting an idea and some development of it, but not wanting another's sermon to read.

The Epistles and Gospels in the *Common Service Book* for most of the Sundays and holy days are the same as in *The Book of Common Prayer*. Most of the Collects are not. A tragic exception to this identity is a substitution in the *Common Service Book* for the traditional course reading of the Passion narratives in Holy Week. Lutheran rite appoints the triumphal entry for Palm Sunday, and the Passion according to St. John or readings from *The History of the Passion*, a compilation of the Gospel accounts, for Monday through Good Friday. Of course, to its outstanding credit, the *Common Service Book* has kept the other traditional propers, while the Prayer Book, except for some of the Prefaces, has not. It should also be noted that the Collects in the *Common Service Book* end with the full and traditional doxologies.

"The Introduction" is by far the most engrossing reading. Lindemann warms an Anglican's heart when he says that the sermon at the Liturgy "should be in harmony with the general tone . . . struck by the Propers" (p. 5), when he urges the restoration of Holy Communion to Ante-Communion in Lutheran churches, and when he states that word and sacrament cannot be separated. He refers to Cranmer with reverence, mentions the Prayer Book numerous times, and laments the lack of a full canon in the Lutheran rite.

This work can be a worthwhile reference for an Anglican priest in his sermon preparation, and in his understanding of the propers and the seasons of the first half of the Christian Year.

*The Vicarage,
Church of the Good Shepherd,
Acton, Massachusetts.*

DAVID A. STOWE.



A Working Manual for Altar Guilds. By Dorothy C. Diggs. Morehouse-Gorham Co., New York. 1957. \$2.00.

Having served on an altar guild (the same one) for over thirty years, this reviewer opened the paper covers of this little book with real anticipation. After reading a very few of its pages, she found she was wishing that such a guide had been in her possession from the start of her service on the altar guild. Not that she had not learned by doing, by questions and answers, and by observation what was expected of her in her service; still it was good to see her duties set down on the printed page.

The author points out that the parishes and missions of the Episcopal Church vary in the degree of ceremonial in their services. Some are simple, others very elaborate. But in all, the objective for the women serving on any altar guild is the same. This is to bring to the preparations for each service care, beauty, and traditional correctness.

In this book is set forth a pattern of preparation that might be used in any Episcopal church. Officiating clergy will know when they wish a simplification of, or an addition to, the preparations, as they are set down in this guide.

The book is quite complete. Services of Morning and Evening Prayer, Holy Communion, Holy Baptism, and Confirmation are covered in the first chapter.

The following chapter describes the festivals and the seasons of the Church Year. Also covered are special services such as ordination, consecration of a bishop, visits of a bishop, consecration of churches and chapels, communion of the sick, blessing of vestments and vessels, and institution of a rector.

There is a chapter on weddings and the nuptial eucharist, and one on burials. Also there is one on the use and care of the church vessels and

its linen and supplies, the vestments of the clergy, and flowers and candles.

The last chapter would be invaluable to any member of an altar guild. It is an alphabetical list of Church terms. And what altar guild member could correctly define or spell each term, no matter how often she may have heard the word spoken. If a parish were not in the position to provide such a book as this to each guild member, at least one copy might be placed in the sacristy for reference by all members.

*Christ Church,
New Brunswick,
New Jersey.*

MARJORIE B. NICHOLAS.
(Mrs. W. C. Nicholas)

[The reader is referred to Mrs. Nicholas' review of *English Church Plate, 597-1830*, in the next section on English Church History.—*Editor's note.*]



II. English and General Church History

One Faith and Fellowship: The Missionary Story of the Anglican Communion. By John Seville Higgins. Greenwich, Seabury Press, 1958. Pp. 226. \$4.50.

The Bishop of Rhode Island has produced a compact and readable outline of the amazing development of the Church of England into the world-wide Anglican Communion. It is scholarly in substance, without becoming pedantic in spirit. Above all, the dramatic story of Anglican expansion has been interestingly told.

Informed Churchmen will inevitably compare this volume with the much longer one which the Rt. Rev. J. William C. Wand, then Bishop of London, edited a decade before under the title, *The Anglican Communion*. But the two books have completely different purposes. Bishop Wand's volume deals with Anglican history, polity and liturgy; Bishop Higgins' volume concentrates on Anglican missionary expansion. The earlier book, already out of date, has all the merits and defects of a symposium, the book now under review reflects that unity of style which comes from a single pen. Primarily intended for busy priests, and laymen who want to learn more about their world-wide Church, this on-going narrative is popular in the best sense of that word.

The acute need for such a treatment is curiously revealed in the extensive bibliography. Numerous substantial titles on specific Anglican areas were published in the 19th century, but many more recent ones are mere pamphlets which are both out of date and out of print.

It seems almost ungracious to point out minor defects in such an excellent book. But to state that the famous Prayer Book Cross in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, marks "the approximate site" of the first Anglican service in what is now the United States is unfortunate when Drake's Bay, the scene of the 1579 service, is at least 30 miles distant. The author's reference to the way in which the colorful Frank Weston,

Bishop of Zanzibar, "impressed the Lambeth Conference of 1922" is obviously a misprint. The year was 1920.

The book's attractive format is a credit to its publisher.

C. RANKIN BARNES.

*The Church Missions House,
New York City.*



William Thomson, Archbishop of York. His Life and Times, 1819-1890.

By H. Kirk Smith. Published for the (English) Church Historical Society. London. S.P.C.K. 1958. Pp. 190. 15/-

A native of Cumberland and son of a Presbyterian draper turned Churchman, William Thomson dropped the "p" from his surname, but could never quite overcome a sense of inferiority because of his lowly origin. He was an undergraduate at Queen's College, Oxford, during the early years of the Tractarian Movement, but himself was quite unaffected by the movement, remaining a sturdy Evangelical of fundamentalist tendencies and intolerance of Anglo-Catholicism to the end of his days.

Thomson's rise in the Church was rapid. In 1845, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce offered him the curacy of Cuddesdon, where he stayed but a short time, returning to Queen's College as chaplain, dean, and bursar, respectively. In 1855, Thomson married (against her family's wishes) Zoe Skene. Lord Palmerston named him to the important Evangelical living of All Souls', Langham Place; but on the death of John Fox, provost of Queen's, Thomson was elected to succeed him. There he effected much needed reforms and made the college the "social and musical center of Oxford," aid by his beautiful wife. Bampton Lecturer, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, Preacher of Lincoln's Inn—the honors came thick and fast. In 1861, he was named and consecrated Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.

Two years later, winning the favor of Queen Victoria rather fortuitously, he was translated to the Archbishopric of York to succeed Thomas Musgrave. Many felt that Samuel Wilberforce should have been chosen. Wilberforce himself never forgave Thomson his elevation to an office which he himself sorely coveted. Wilberforce was known as "the remodeller of the Episcopate"; but though he effected his reforms with greater finesse than Thomson (living up to his nickname, "Soapy Sam"), our author holds that Thomson no less deserved the title, and that Wilberforce "was not Thomson's equal in single-minded zeal, in self-dedication to duty, and in some of the techniques the latter adopted to meet the changed circumstances of the nineteenth century."

We think that Dr. Kirk-Smith clearly establishes his contention in the fascinating chapters wherein he shows this man of too individualistic and vague churchmanship, of static theology and rigid outlook, prose-

cuting Voysey for heresy, striving with Archbishop Tait to stamp out ritualism, quarreling with the deans of his cathedral—and yet, during the twenty-eight years that he served as Archbishop of York, effecting a revolution in the Church life of his diocese and of the Northern Province. He found the Church in his diocese weak and ineffective after years of neglect, while Dissent and Romanism were aggressive. He disciplined his clergy where discipline was indicated. He revived Convocations and instituted conferences. He raised the standards of ordination, reformed the administration of confirmation, inaugurated a vigorous program of Church extension and the augmentation of benefice incomes, sought to give the laity a larger share in the formation and execution of diocesan policy, and fought the encroachments of secularism by making the influence of the Church felt in educational, scientific, and social circles.

Individualist that he was, he took little part in the proceedings of the House of Lords, and refused to attend the first Lambeth Conference of 1867 lest the American and colonial bishops might subvert the policy of the English bishops on the question of Colenso! Perhaps his greatest personal triumph was the way in which he changed the attitude of the working classes in the large towns of his diocese towards the office he held and toward the Church which he represented. He knew how to "speak the language" of the Cheffeld working man, and earned for himself the title, "The People's Archbishop."

In short, for all his limitations and mistakes, which our author so frankly and freely portrays, William Thomson was a man of granite character and massive achievement, a man of wide and deep humanity, a man whose religion was transparently simple and practical and who, in spite of the worst that his critics and detractors could say (and say, oft-times with truth), has gone down in history as a "great" Archbishop of York.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Parish,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*



Neville Gorton, Bishop of Coventry, 1943-1955. Edited by Frank W. Moyle, London. S.P.C.K. 1957. Pp. x + 161. \$2.50. Distributed by Macmillan.

This is a symposium of tributes to Bishop Gorton written by people who were associated with him at Sedbergh School, at Blundell's School, Tiverton, and during the years that he was Bishop of Coventry, making himself truly "the People's Bishop" during the years of reconstruction in the highly industrialized see city which was so sorely devastated during the Blitz.

Allowing for the bias of friendship, the contributors have given us the portrait of a most unconventional personality—a man of strong enthusiasms and unpredictable action, generous, nervous, impulsive,

with a deep vein of genuine sanctity—a man deeply beloved, whose fitting memorial will be the rebuilt Coventry Cathedral, with Epstein's statue of St. Michael, and the Chapel of Unity as an organic part of the cathedral complex.

A selection from his sermons and addresses, printed as Part II, does nothing to enhance his reputation as a preacher or speaker, which must have depended so much on his vibrant personality.

An excerpt from the Archbishop of Canterbury's funeral sermon is printed as a Foreword to the reminiscences. Perhaps his Grace has caught the essential quality of the man when he writes:

"Someone said to me after his death that Neville Gorton reminded him of St. Peter—so impulsive and so lovable. I understand the comparison, but I do not agree with it. There was a time when our Lord said He was going to Jerusalem to die, and Peter said, 'That must never happen to you.' Neville would not have said that. He would have said, 'How splendid, I will go and die with you!'"

E. H. ECKEL.



The Episcopal Church at Muchalls. By John Paul Hill. London, Mowbrays. 1956. Pp. xii + 128. 16/-

American Episcopalians, whose first Bishop, Samuel Seabury, received episcopal consecration from Scottish Nonjuror bishops in Aberdeen one hundred and seventy-five years ago, can derive interesting insights into the life of the Scottish Episcopal Church from the perusal of this well printed and illustrated little volume, which carries a Foreword by the present Bishop of Brechin.

Ten miles south of Aberdeen is the little fishing village of Muchalls, one of three or four such communities in that vicinity which have adhered to Episcopacy ever since the Revolution of William and Mary resulted in the Establishment of Presbyterianism and linked Episcopacy in Scotland with the Jacobite cause.

We are shown how, under the leadership of a succession of dedicated clergy, the Episcopal Church survived through "the Catacomb Period," when public worship was proscribed, services were held in private houses, and two priests are known to have administered the sacrament of holy baptism through the windows of prison cells! We trace the fortunes of the little congregation through years of growing toleration, through a period of schism within the flock, through years of revival and growth under faithful pastors. We see the building and enlargement of their church, dedicated to St. Ternan, and share the enrichment of their worship under the episcopate of the great Bishop of Brechin, Dr. A. P. Forbes. We note how intimately the Church is identified with the lives of the people in times of joy and in days of calamity and sorrow. We read with regret that, with the decline of the fishing industry, many parishioners have moved in recent years to

Aberdeen and other cities, and the population of the parish has seriously declined.

In an appendix, two sermons, written about 1750 by the Rev. Alexander Greig of Stoneham, bear testimony to the emphasis on the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the Scottish Episcopal Church of the eighteenth century. American Episcopalians can see in this an interesting sidelight on the Concordat which Seabury made with the Scottish Bishops at the time of his consecration.

E. H. ECKEL.



The Papacy and Anglican Orders. By George F. Lewis. London, Mowbrays, 1955. (First English Edition, 1957). Pp. 37. 50 cents (paper).

Written originally for circulation in Canada, with a Foreword by the Dean of Toronto, this little booklet summarizes clearly and succinctly the attitude of the Papacy toward Anglican orders from the time of Henry VIII down to Leo XIII's Bull, *Apostolic Curæ* (1896), and the Reply of the English Archbishops thereto.

It is clearly shown that no question as to the validity of Anglican orders was raised by the Papacy until after the final breach in the reign of Elizabeth I, and that there has since been no consistent ground for the condemnation of Anglican orders, except the desperate necessity of unchurching the English Church and the Anglican Communion.

E. H. ECKEL.



The Bishops Come to Lambeth. By Dewi Morgan. London, Mowbrays, 1957. Pp. 142. \$1.25 (paper).

This very readable little book was prepared by the Editorial Secretary of the S.P.G. in anticipation of the interest that would be aroused by the 1958 Lambeth Conference, and for the purpose of giving the reader some historical background for the understanding and appreciation of the Conference.

We are given a helpful survey of the history of the Church of England both before and since the Reformation. We are shown how the Church followed English colonists overseas, and we are told about the long struggle for the overseas episcopate. We are shown how the great missionary expansion of the Church during the 19th century made necessary some such forum as the Lambeth Conference in order to give coherence to the Anglican Communion. And we are shown how each successive Lambeth Conference since the first one, which was so hesi-

tantly and tentatively convened in 1867, has strengthened the bonds that unite the various Churches and provinces of the Anglican Communion, and has enabled Anglicanism to bear its Christian witness with increasing effectiveness in the modern world.

It is, perhaps, evidence of haste in compilation that an extra "n" is inserted in the name of Archbishop Tenison, and that George Washington is said to have received the Holy Communion on the day of his inauguration as first President of the United States, in the city of New York. Actually, he repaired after the inauguration ceremony to St. Paul's Chapel, where Bishop Provoost read prayers appropriate to the occasion.

E. H. ECKEL.



Dean Church: The Anglican Response to Newman. By B. A. Smith. London, Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii + 334. \$4.80.

For the student of English Church History in the nineteenth century, this is a very important book. The author acknowledges his dependence upon the *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, published by his daughter Mary Church, in 1894, but utilizes to good advantage hitherto unpublished material, including letters available amongst the Gladstone Papers in the British Museum. The book is more than a new biography of Dean Church. It is, as its subtitle indicates, a serious and thoughtful appraisal of Church's place in the on-going life of the Church.

Church's birth at Lisbon, his Mediterranean childhood, and his later travels in Southern Europe served to keep him from the insularity that marked so many of his friends and contemporaries, and enabled him to maintain a certain detachment and objectivity of judgment in the face of the revolutionary religious, scientific, political, social, and cultural movements of his times.

Deeply influenced by the Oxford Movement and a lifelong friend and admirer of Newman, who was fifteen years his senior, Church never cast in his lot with the Tractarians, though as junior proctor he joined Guillemand in vetoing the censure of Tract 90 in the University Convocation. Newman's secession affected neither their friendship nor Church's devotion to Anglicanism. Church detected in Newman's defection the tell-tale streak of fatalism.

"It was the business of Churchmen to take up the fight where they found it in their own day rather than allow their dream of the past to bring on a melancholy obsession with the pattern of what ought to have been."

The lost leader had "despaired too soon" and retired from the contest "long before he had a right to do so."

Church's studies of St. Anselm and Dante were, in a sense, his own "tracts for the times."

"By bringing Anselm to the notice of modern English Christians, Church was helping to prepare the Anglican mind for the emergence once more of true lords spiritual who . . . will, like William Temple, rise up before the nation with the moral authority of their office." "In the spirit and content of Dante, he found himself confronted with the fullest possible conspectus of how Christian life operates, as a sort of miraculous fact, in the concrete affairs of a bewildering age."

In Gladstone, Church and others of his friends found a worthy and congenial spokesman for the Church who could implement their ideals in the political sphere and in the framework of the Establishment.

As rector of the little Somerset parish of Whitley (1853-1871), Church found ample leisure for his studies and his influential contributions to journalism. At times, he puzzled his friends by his independent line—his friendship for Asa Gray and his openmindedness to the theory of Evolution, his sympathetic approach to Seeley's *Ecce Homo*, his approval of Frederick Temple's elevation to the episcopate in spite of his contribution to *Essays and Reviews*. There could never be any doubt of Church's own orthodoxy, but he welcomed every attempt to rethink and restate and apply the Christian faith. Dr. Pusey wasn't quite certain whether Church was a Tractarian or a trimmer.

Church's nineteen years as Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral brought him into close association with an extraordinarily strong group of men on the chapter: J. B. Lightfoot, H. P. Liddon, R. C. Gregory, H. Scott Holland, William Stubbs. Under Church's quiet yet compelling leadership, they literally completed the transformation of St. Paul's from a gloomy historical monument to a throbbing spiritual center for the metropolis, the nation, and the empire. Here the ideals of worship for which the Oxford Movement stood could be, and were, exemplified. This was the period of the Ritualistic battle. Though not himself a Ritualist, Church's sense of fair play brought him into the struggle on the side of those who were being persecuted and imprisoned for their Ritualism. As one who used the eastward position in celebrating and was prepared to vindicate the theological implications thereof, Church offered himself to the authorities for prosecution along with the rest. More than any other one man, he was probably responsible for Archbishop Tait's decision to call off the anti-Ritualist drive and inaugurate what was called the "Truce of God."

Mr. Smith, in his closing chapters, gives us stimulating studies of Church's mind and writings, and of his personal friendships. Richard William Church was in the true line of succession to Hooker, Andrewes, and Butler. He was a humanist as well as a theologian.

"When in any society the intellectuals and others are being demoralized by the collapse of old bulwarks, the coolest men are those with the historical outlook."

Church's guiding principle was "to believe that the realities of history come in to endorse the realities of Christian truth." Church believed that both the development of the Roman Catholic doctrine of authority

under Newman's stimulus and the growth of religious doubt on account of the shocks administered to traditional authority from scientific inquiry had, for emotional reasons, gone off into quite excessive conclusions. He did not share Canon Liddon's distress about Gore and *Lux Mundi*. In a very real sense, he, who was the historian of *The Oxford Movement, 1833-1845*, was also the living link between the collapse of that phase of the history of Anglicanism and its renaissance some half a century later, under younger and more venturesome leadership, as the embodiment of a Christianity at once Catholic, critical, and humane. As such, Dean Church represented truly "the Anglican Response to Newman."

E. H. ECKEL.



Adam of Dryburgh. By James Bulloch. London, S.P.C.K., 1958. Published for the (English) Church Historical Society. Pp. vi + 185. \$6.00 (distributed by Macmillan).

Dr. Bulloch, in this scholarly book, sums up the research of many students who, pursuing the deductive methods of the immortal Sherlock Holmes, have established the identity of Adam of Dryburgh (as distinct from Adam of St. Victor and others of the same name), have determined the authentic canon of his writings, and have reconstructed his career.

This twelfth century exponent of the religious life was a native of Berwickshire who entered the newly founded abbey of Dryburgh nearby as a White Canon of the Premonstratensian Order. He wrote scores of sermons, along with several expository, mystical, and devotional works which have survived. He was elevated to the rank of abbot, and about four years later, seeking a stricter and more satisfying ideal, entered the Carthusian Order and spent the last twenty-four years of his life in the first English charterhouse at Witham, near Frome, Somerset. He died in the reign of King John, possibly during the Great Interdict.

By making this change of allegiance from the White Canons to the Carthusians, Adam became liable to excommunication. But by seeking the powerful protection of St. Hugh of Lincoln, who had made a similar change of orders earlier, he avoided this extreme penalty.

From Adam's rather extensive writings Dr. Bulloch has been able to compile detailed descriptions of the buildings at Dryburgh, of the obligations and the daily occupations of the White Canons and the Carthusians, and of the spiritual ideals which motivated them—together a fascinating picture of the religious life during the early Middle Ages, before St. Francis and St. Dominic.

It is to be regretted that so relatively modest a book should be priced so exorbitantly by its American distributors, thereby seriously limiting its circulation.

E. H. ECKEL.



Six Makers of English Religion. By Gordon Rupp. Harper, New York, 1957. Pp. xi + 127. \$2.50.

The author, who is professor of ecclesiastical history at the University of Manchester, England, indicates frankly that for him "English Religion" is equated with the "English Protestant Tradition." This determines, therefore, his choice of the men whose lives and works he describes; for "in the making of English Protestantism there are certain landmarks, certain great normative documents"—the English Bible (Tyndale), the Book of Common Prayer (Cranmer), and in lesser degree, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the hymns of Isaac Watts. "All of these were writings which influenced many millions of readers." And in pointing out that three came from the *Milieu* of the Establishment and three were of Nonconformist pedigree, Dr. Rupp (himself a Methodist) indicates his own eirenic approach. In his treatment of each of his six subjects, he writes with discrimination and understanding, sympathetically and yet critically.

Without summarizing in detail the contents of his six chapters, we commend unreservedly to our readers this interesting, scholarly, and readable little book, which was first presented as a series of lectures to "non-theological" students at Westfield College in the University of London.

E. H. ECKEL.



Local Government in St. Marlebone, 1688-1835: A Study of the Vestry and the Turnpike Trust. By F. H. W. Sheppard (University of London. The Athlone Press, 1958 and Essential Books, Fair Lawn, N. J.). Pp. xi and 315 and Index.

This admirable study, bringing order and interest out of hundreds of documents and thousands of entries, describes, through the peep-hole provided by a single parish, the evolution of urban local government in England from the beginning, with the Revolution of 1689, to 1835, after the enactment of the Reform Bill of 1832 and of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834.

The Open Vestry, the Select Vestry, Paving Commissioners, Turnpike Trusts, Overseers or Guardians of the Poor, Churchwardens, Vestry Clerks, are some of the official bodies or personages who appear. The topics include street-paving, lighting, police ("the watch"), poor-houses and the poor, water-supply, fire protection, rates, vestry business, parliamentary struggles, noblemen's estates, court proceedings, and church building.

Eight photographs of old prints or paintings, and as many maps and charts, add to the interest.

To the author's contribution of scholarship, industry, and an

impeccable style, the publishers have added admirable format and typography. One need say only that the whole is worthy of The University of London.

SPENCER ERVIN.

Bala-Cynwyd P.O.
Pennsylvania.



English Church Plate, 597-1830. By Charles Aman. Keeper of the Department of Metal work at the Victoria and Albert Museum. New York, Oxford University Press, 1957. Pages 326; plates 200; price \$20.20.

It is always a true pleasure to open a really beautiful book, one printed on heavy, almost opaque paper, in large and easily read type. When, in addition, there are a hundred pages of illustrations to the text, and these photographs of the finest quality, the pleasure is enhanced.

In the preface the author states how he has limited the subject of his book. His description is of plate found in the provinces of Canterbury and York. His definition of plate means the articles that were made of gold on silver, leaving out the work of goldsmiths of medieval times who worked in copper, coppergilt or gilt-bronze. He includes plate used only in the service of religion, and excludes pieces that were badges of office. All the pieces described are of English manufacture. Some of the pieces found their way abroad, and these are included. Foreign plate that found its way into English churches is not treated.

The first chapter deals with goldsmiths during the Middle Ages. There were skilled goldsmiths in England long before the arrival of Christian missionaries. The Church became the most important patron of these goldsmiths. In the medieval times, the abbots felt little remorse over the melting down of old plate if they might have, as a result, some new piece of plate they desired.

The belief that most of the treasures of the early English churches were made by goldsmith monks is erroneous. A good proportion of the plate in any cathedral, regular or secular, or in any parish church was composed of gifts from the laity.

Down to the thirteenth century, the taste in Church plate was in the hands of ecclesiastics, and most of the work of the goldsmiths was for the Church.

In the latter Middle Ages, the smiths worked more for collegiate and parish churches, and it was the laity that was mainly interested.

By the fifteenth century, the most important work of the goldsmiths was in the manufacture of secular plate.

The first hall marking law was passed in 1300, and all goldsmiths were ordered to mark all plate before it left their hands. The first pieces of fully marked plate were a chalice and a paten with a hallmark of 1479. From then on, up to the Reformation, slightly less than half the chalices and a third of the patens bear hallmarks.

In the second chapter, the author describes the plate, its character and amount, to be found in different cathedrals and churches. Inventories are rare in the early Church. There are two for the Abbey of Ely in 1079 and 1093, listing the number of chalices, crosses, cruets and candlesticks. There is an interesting inventory of the plate used in Canterbury Cathedral in 1315. But there was little plate for altars in lesser chapels. Even in the sixteenth century, an altar might have only a cross of copper gilt, cruets of pewter, and candlesticks of brass. These various listings of plate found in cathedrals, chapels, and colleges in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries give one a picture of the kind of Church plate in use in those times.

He continues in his next chapter with a description of the furnishings of private chapels. The king was always the largest owner of religious plate. The maintaining of a private chapel in early times by a layman was quite usual, but probably the plate used was not very splendid. But it was a matter of necessity for a bishop. As time went on, the portability of plate became more of a consideration.

There is a short chapter on the care and protection of Church plate. During the Middle Ages, churches, monasteries and cathedrals had such a reputation for security, that the laity brought their personal valuable possessions to be stored within their walls.

Medieval ironwork and many screens provided protection, as well as decoration. When thieves did break into churches, it was usually through a window. Occasionally, they mined under a foundation. Bell ringers, watchmen who tolled the hours on a flute, and special guards were sometimes provided.

The author moves on to a description (and here the plates of the book help) of chalices and patens used in the different periods of history. Design, shape, engraving, and inscriptions are all described. Often the medieval chalice was not the work of a single craftsman. Engravings were usually handed out. This fact is best seen in the engravings of the patens. Too often the engraver's work on a gold paten marred a first class piece of goldsmith's work.

Early in the thirteenth century, choice spoons were in popular use. They were used to ladle out a few drops of water to be added to the wine in the chalice.

Cruets to hold the wine and water were about the same shape as those for holy oils. Cruets for the Mass were in pairs, for oils in threes, but often the number was upset by accidents. To distinguish the contents of the two cruets, it was usual to mark one "A" (aqua) and the other "V" (vinum). Sometimes one cruet was gilded and the other left plain.

The Eucharistic Reeds that had a period of popular use over seven hundred years ago and portable altars are described in the chapter on Mass plate.

Next in description are Books of the Gospels and Epistles that were fitted with covers or cases of gold and silver. Also the candlesticks that were placed on the altar; before the Reformation in single pairs, but occasionally as many as eight great candlesticks of gold are mentioned in inventories.

Crosses, pixes, lecterns, frontals and vessels for the reservation of the sacrament, are all touched upon in the same chapter on altar plate. Next read of basins commonly made in pairs, for water was poured from one over the celebrant's hands into the other. Then of censers and incense boats (the vessel from which the censer was replenished), of fonts, of handwarmers (for the celebrant's hands in cold weather), holy water buckets, images, lanterns, reliquaries, sacring bells (used to excite greater devotion), salt cellars (salt playing a part in christening and the hallowing of water), and sanctuary lamps. With all of these last, the churchman of today is not as well acquainted.

In Part Two, the author presents a picture of the English kings as donors and spoilers, from the conversion of England to 1830. More is known about the churches founded by the early English kings than about the Church plate. But all the kings, between the Conquest (1066) and the Reformation, were donors of plate to the churches. Between 1660 and 1830, there seems to have been no gifts of plate made directly by the kings.

During and following the Norman Conquest, the churches' wealth in the precious metals became subject to royal levies, directly or indirectly. Often, when a monarch needed to raise sums of money for war or other emergencies, he turned to the wealth of the churches. Treasures of the churches and monasteries were lost in the melting pot. It was intimated that religious houses could go into voluntary liquidation and transfer all their assets to the king. When such pressure was put upon the monasteries, it followed that monasticism in England was doomed. Queen Mary goes down in history as the last sovereign to profit by the stealing of Church plate.

Coming to Part Three, we find the author using the same plan as in Part One. He also uses the same headings for the chapters. Again we find description of the work of the goldsmiths—for the Church, but for a later period (1553 to 1660). These are years after the Reformation.

The first pieces of plate made expressly for Protestant use was in 1548. This was the year of the advent of the communion cup, though there was continuing use of the medieval mass chalices.

Elizabeth I ascended to the throne in November, 1558. That winter marked the restoration of the cup to the laity by proclamation. Then began the alteration of chalices to communion cups. This was done gradually, one or two dioceses at a time.

Each new event and change in history is reflected in the work of the goldsmiths on Church plate.

There is a section of the book that includes some Roman Catholic plate. The author believes this a good plan since some Anglican parish churches possess chalices and patens that were made originally for Recusant use. Some of these were gifts from a Recusant family joining the Anglican Church. Some have been bought in recent times.

The goldsmiths' trade was not divided on denominational lines, as they made both Anglican and Recusant plate. In treating this part of the subject, here, again, the beautiful plates lend further meaning and un-

derstanding of the author's descriptions of form, design, proportions and engravings of the different pieces.

The book includes a bibliography of works to which reference is made in the text. There is a list of medieval chalices and patens; a list of Edwardian communion cups; another list of the quantities and distribution of communion cups and paten covers made by a certain goldsmith (T. P.). Another listing is made of Anglican seventeenth century Gothic chalices. There is still another list of the identifiable goldsmiths who worked for the Recusants between 1558 and 1697.

In conclusion, the author explains why he closes his study with the year 1830. It is because of the great amount of literature, the many documents, the many examples of work done after this date that would have to be studied.

He pleads for the proper care of ancient plate still in use, and that even simple repairs be done by competent goldsmiths.

He suggests that the great quantity of plate, now in banks, be taken out and placed on the altars at great festivals. By doing this, a parish may become aware that its church is the possessor of beautiful things.

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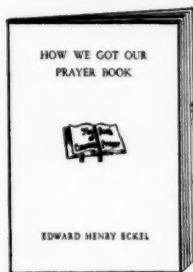
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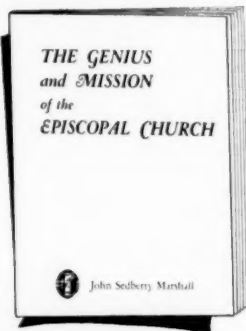
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